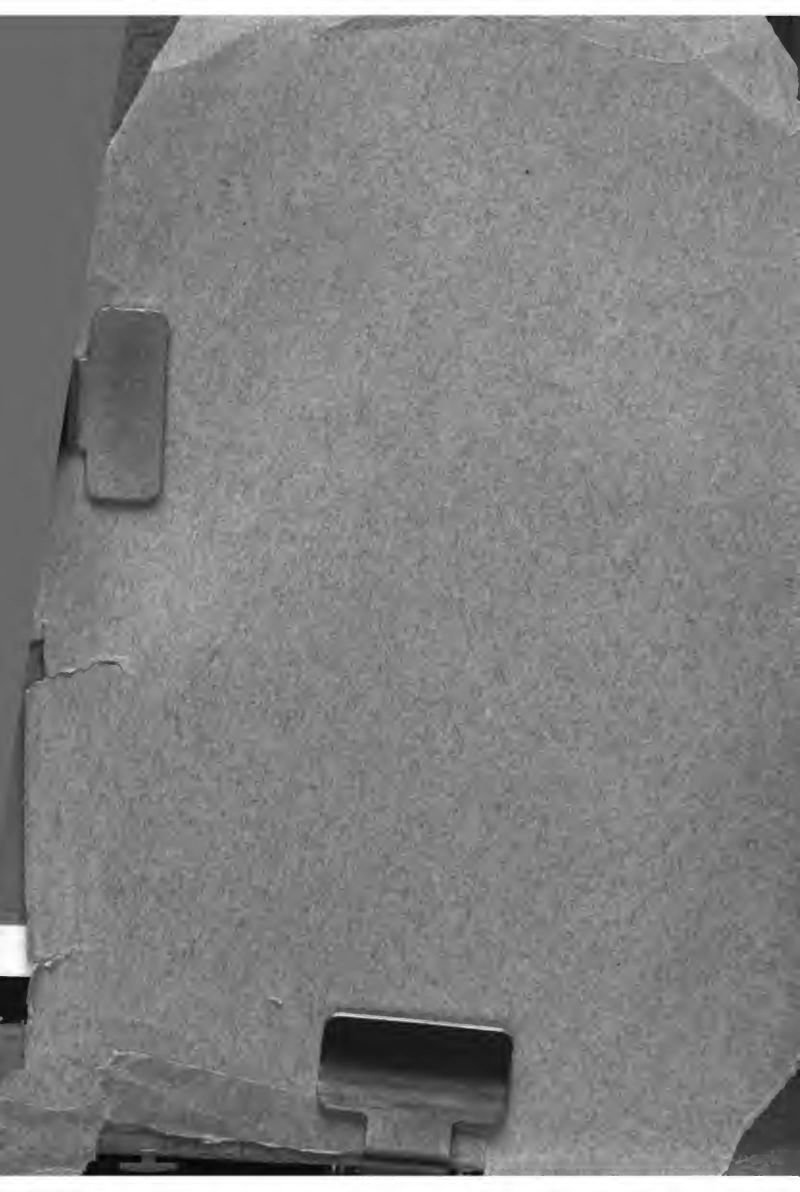


Jahrbuch der Deutsche-Amerikanischen ...

Deutsche-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, Germanistic Society of America



Jahrbuch

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Agents:

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO

KARL W. HIERSEMANN
LEIPZIG

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

FRED KLEIN COMPANY
CHICAGO

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Jahrbuch

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

Herausgegeben von

Dr. Julius Goebel

Professor an der Staatsuniversität zu Illinois

Jahrgang 1915

(VOL. XV)

Im Auftrage der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INHALT.

Vorwort

Es ist nicht zufällig, daß der vorliegende Band des Jahrbuchs sich vorzüglich mit der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt. Wir amerikanischen Bürger deutscher Abkunft fühlen das Große, das die deutsche Volksseele in diesen Tagen des Weltkampfes durchschwingt, nicht nur darum so innig mit, weil uns die Bande des Blutes und des gemeinsamen Geistes mit der alten Heimat verknüpfen. Uns ruft die große Zeit zugleich auch die früheren Erhebungen deutschen Geistes in die Erinnerung: die Freiheitskriege, die politischen Gährungen der dreißiger Jahre und schließlich die deutsche Bewegung des Jahres 1848. Kein anderes Land der Welt ist von diesen großen nationalen Erhebungen, die Deutschland im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts erlebte, so tief und so bleibend berührt worden, als unser Land. Denn es waren die Führer und Träger jener nationalen deutschen Erhebungen, die zuerst als Einzelne, dann zu Hunderten und schließlich zu vielen Tausenden in Amerika eine neue Heimat und neue Wirkungskreise suchten und so eine Fülle vom Besten deutschen Geistes und deutscher Kultur in unser eigenes nationales Leben gossen.

Wenn die landläufige amerikanische Geschichtschreibung bis heute an dieser Tatsache vorübergeht, ja sie überhaupt nicht einmal in ihrer vollen Tragweite zu erkennen scheint, so beweist das den Provincialismus ihres Geschichtskreises und ihren Mangel an historischer Einfühlung. Um so mehr wird es darum zur Pflicht des deutsch-amerikanischen Historikers, den gewaltigen deutschen Einschlag im Kulturleben und in der politischen Geschichte dieses Landes bloß zulegen und an hervorragenden Gestalten und Erscheinungen darzustellen.

Nur der Kurzsichtige oder der blinde Fanatiker kann erwarten, daß der heiße Pulsschlag deutschen Lebens, der die Millionen deutscher Einwanderer seit den Freiheitskriegen beseelte, plötzlich mit dem Eintritt in dieses Land erstarren müsse. Zum Glück für die Zukunft der amerikanischen Nation ist die begehrte Umartung aller Volkselemente in den uniformen Typus englischer Färbung eine psychologische Unmöglichkeit, zumal beim Deutschen von ausgeprägtem Kulturbewußtsein. Wie fest aber gerade die politisch vom Vaterland Verfolgten und Verstoßenen, Männer wie Franz Lieber und Karl Schurz, Franz Sigel und Karl Heinzen, unbeschadet ihrer Treue gegen die neue Heimat, an den Kulturidealen des deutschen Volkes hielten, ja in ihnen die Quelle ihrer Kraft und ihres Wirkens fanden, davon legen die folgenden Aufsätze beredtes Zeugnis ab.



Francis Lieber

FRANCIS LIEBER
A STUDY OF A MAN AND AN IDEAL

By Ernest Bruncken

CHAPTER I.

TWO EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

Among the variety of catch phrases which in endless succession engage the temporary attention of the American public there has now been prominent for several years that of "vocational training." It is said—and nobody will deny that it is said with a great deal of reason—that the ordinary school curriculum does not fit our boys and girls for any particular occupation in life. Therefore, it is necessary to have a series of schools in which this defect can be remedied after the customary subjects have been mastered in the grade schools, and the teaching in the common schools themselves should be so modified as to keep in mind constantly the needs of the pupils when they get into the trade schools. The spirit which is thus endeavoring to make the elementary schools merely preparatory for the institutions where the masses are to be trained in the occupations by which they will later earn their living, has invaded also the colleges and other institutions for what is called the "higher education." In a laudable endeavor to shorten the number of years now required to pursue a full academic course leading up to the liberal and technical professions, that which was formerly prized under the appellation of a liberal education is all too often pushed rudely aside. Hence we have college-bred lawyers with but the scantiest knowledge of Latin; physicians whose acquaintance with history would not prevent them from confusing Alexander the Great with Charlemagne; engineers who have never heard of Keats or Shelley; high school teachers of Spanish who have never read a line of Homer in the original; and college instructors in the classics who read neither French nor German. All of which comes from having to choose, as early as the first

year in high school, between Greek and physics, French and history, Latin and chemistry, according as one or the other branch of study appears to be more helpful to the future lawyer, physician, engineer or school teacher.

We are told, *ad nauseam*, that this is an age of specialists; that nobody can expect to cut even a respectable figure in any field of learning, or in any of the professions requiring scholastic training, unless he carefully avoids the scattering of his energies and never takes his eyes from the details of his specialty. Curiously enough, it is said that specialization of this narrow kind is at the root of all the successes the German people have scored during more than a century, in nearly every field of human activity. The mythical professor of Greek who had devoted his life to the elucidation of the declensions and on his deathbed deplored that he had not confined himself to the dative case is popularly supposed to have been a German. It is far more likely that he was the brother of a well-known American geologist, who is enthusiastically voluble whenever he gets a chance to talk about certain glacial phenomena, but whom nobody has ever heard utter ten consecutive words in company when something else was the subject of conversation.

Within a generation or two, this kind of specialization has in the United States become so common among those who pass for educated people that the lack of general information in professional men no longer excites comment. The opposite feeling is rather apt to be met with. Thus a certain distinguished professional man, himself a gentleman and a scholar in the old-fashioned sense, expressed a pleased surprise on discovering that an able and successful foreign lawyer was also capable of discussing with evident knowledge and insight a passage from Faust. Is it too much to say that in any but an American company such an accomplishment in a man of this lawyer's standing would be taken as a matter of course?

There are by no means lacking the voices of those who appreciate the danger to our national welfare lurking in this gradual diminution of the proportion of men who show an

intelligent and serious interest in things having no bearing on the work by which they make their living. It would indeed be strange if among Americans, of all people on earth, the race of those should die out who know that what is called the practical work of the world is but the necessary foundation for those more spiritual labors which distinguish human beings from mere animals of highly developed intelligence. For the American people have always been distinguished by a strong element of idealism as part of their national character; that is, there may be found among Americans a very large proportion of individuals who are not satisfied with aims in life tending merely towards the providing of material comfort and wealth, but place before themselves some ulterior goal of effort. That goal or ideal may be found in the field of religion, of philanthropy and social service, of political and national progress, in rarer instances in artistic or scholarly pursuits for their own sake.

The leaven of a higher, more spiritual life, was first brought to this country in abundant measure by the early settlers of New England, among whom there was a far greater number of men with broad and well-trained minds and noble ideals than is ordinarily found among the pioneers of a newly-founded colony. In the subsequent streams of immigration, there never ceased to be a fair representation of similar men, though in smaller numbers. At several periods, however, there were again waves of immigration having more than the common share of individuals capable of appreciating the things of the mind. The older German influx, beginning with Pastorius in 1683 and continuing in a steady current almost to the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, never lacked such men, although most of the newcomers, like most of the colonists of the New England states, may have sprung from the humbler classes. Pastorius himself was an example, and among his successors was that remarkable family of Mühlenberg which gave so many eminent men to the country. It is true that a large proportion of the idealists belonging to this group curtailed their influence on American life by directing their ener-

gies into the narrow channels of sectarian separation. Yet who will say that their example may not have contributed a full, though indirect, share towards building up the idealistic element in the American character?

Another conspicuous group of men coming to our shores, not because of economic pressure at home, but because they were seeking a more favorable field for the realization of noble dreams, was driven to America, in one way or the other, by the commotions of the French Revolution. Of this group, a few were Frenchmen, but more came from Germany, Great Britain and Ireland. Their influence, and that of the representatives of similar ideals in Europe, was powerful in producing that highly idealistic body of political and social thought which we are wont to connect, somewhat vaguely, with the name of Thomas Jefferson, and which has played so large a part in our subsequent national life, down to the present day. And again, when the Revolutionary and Napoleonic fever in the old world was over, from 1815 to the Civil war, the American nation received a stream of immigration from Germany and other countries which carried with it a surprising number of highly cultivated men whom the political struggles at home had driven into exile. As a matter of fact, the proportion of such men in the German immigration of that period was much larger than that found among the New England settlers during the first half century after the coming of the Mayflower.

No matter what specific form the idealistic aspirations of men of this type might take, they were all convinced of the inestimable value of a liberal and scholarly training, and could not help but transmit that conviction to their own posterity and to thousands of others who came under their influence. Even where the exigencies of life in a new country made the liberal education of more than a very small number of men an impossibility, there developed a profound respect for scholarly knowledge. This is true practically of every part of the country, with the possible exception of certain portions of the South, where untoward economic and social conditions have prevented the growth of that sturdy and intelligent yeomanry which,

together with the similar class of independent and moderately wealthy merchants and manufacturers, constituted, until recent years, at least, the great body of peculiarly American society. Nowhere was this remarkable form of social life more typically developed than in New England. There have probably been very few communities where the man of better education and mental training has been as highly respected and as influential as he was in the New England states such as they were until the middle of the nineteenth century. There was in those commonwealths no aristocracy based on the possession of land and slaves as there was in Virginia and other Southern states. There were barely the beginnings of an aristocracy of commercial wealth. In few places in the world was there so close an approach to social equality. Yet, at the town meetings, where every adult male citizen was free to speak and vote, and where the affairs not merely of the neighborhood, but, by no means rarely, the affairs of state and nation were intelligently and effectively discussed, farmers and shopkeepers almost invariably expected the wisest counsel, the decisive opinion to come from the little group of their college-bred fellow-citizens, the doctor, the lawyer, and especially the minister. Those self-reliant countrymen and artisans would never have dreamed of deferring to any man on account of his wealth, rank or station, but to the man of education and learning they gave a reasonable deference. Especially the minister's influence in a community where church-going was a matter of course, could be resisted only with the greatest difficulty, despite the fact that Congregational or Unitarian ministers had neither legal authority to compel nor priestly power to bind or loose. Their power, and that of other men of education, was based to a large degree on the profound respect which the entire people felt for the trained intellect, not the intellect drilled into extraordinary efficiency for some particular, narrowly circumscribed task, but the mind that has been cultivated and developed until it is capable of looking at all sides of every matter, of realizing that every subject is connected by an infinite number of threads with the vastness of the universe, and that no question concerning human affairs can be settled without

bringing to bear on it all the information and wisdom of which the mind is possessed.

Thus there was in the New England of that day a sort of intellectual aristocracy. One might call it an aristocracy of country parsons, or as Oliver Wendell Holmes, with good-natured irony, has called it, a Brahman class. It was from now on that New England, for a number of generations, became the teacher of the nation. Her sons were found in every section, giving instruction in school and college, spreading everywhere the profound respect and love for liberal scholarship with which they had become imbued in their native colleges. Moreover, New England was during this period fertilized by contact with the universities of Germany, to which American students then began to flock in increasing numbers, returning full of admiration for German scholarship and zeal to create something similar thereto in their native land. In other ways also—as for instance, Madame de Staël's book, "De l'Allemagne"—a better knowledge of German literature and science was spread among the educated portion of the New England people, and this was one of the chief contributing causes why New England alone, of all parts of the country, brought into flower and fruit during the first half of the nineteenth century, a native, characteristic form of culture, the manifestations of which were an integral part of popular life. Everywhere else in America, there were but individual cultivated men and women, numerous enough perhaps, but isolated from the common life of the people and in no sense the necessary product of the surrounding social conditions. In New England alone, the social environment produced a considerable class whose culture and training was native to the soil and could not have been produced anywhere else in precisely that character.

No wonder that New England became for a time the leader of all America in the things pertaining to the spirit and the intellect, claiming that her specific form of civilization represented American culture as such. If her superiority is no longer so apparent as it was during a considerable period, one reason therefor may be that she has done her work so well. The idealistic strain almost always found in the typical New

Englander, even if deeply concealed under the no less frequent shell of shrewd materialism, with the aid of the specifically New England form of culture has spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, not without finding congenial aid in the idealistic traditions emanating from the other sources we have mentioned. One of the manifestations of this idealism which has now become characteristic of the whole American people is the high value placed on education. We all know how the one thing on which every American community, rightly or wrongly, prides itself, is its school system; how no public burden is borne more cheerfully than the taxes raised for school purposes; how thousands of small cities give outward evidence of the high esteem in which they hold education by making the high school and the public library the two conspicuous public edifices in the town. Nearly every rich man with money to give for benevolent purposes first of all thinks of some educational institution. Appropriations can be obtained from legislative bodies for objects which the average legislator would consider inexcusably extravagant, provided only that they can be shown to have some sort of educational value. There is no doubt whatever, the American people do have a sturdy and unquestioning, not to say a blind, faith in education, and one of the principal causes of that state of mind must be sought in the spread of the New England type of culture.

This specifically New England culture, however, did not find its ideal in the sort of learning, however profound, which is pursued for some ulterior end, no matter how exalted. It was essentially a thing to be sought for its own sake, because it was intrinsically desirable and attractive, and because without it the individual seemed to fall short of the full stature of man. It did not foster the sort of specialism which aims at producing a superlatively efficient practicing attorney, or physician, or engineer. No more did it place a particularly high value on the other type of specialist who prides himself on being a votary of pure science and cares nothing for the possible practical uses to which his labors might be put. New

England culture, as it had developed under German influence, had for its ultimate goal nothing less than the producing of men who were men in every respect, harmonious, many-sided, fully developed personalities. Whether the roads on which this goal was sought have been always the right ones need not be discussed. About the excellence of the ideal there can be no question. Under such circumstances, however, it is no more than could be expected that those who have inherited or acquired the spirit of this fine New England, or let us venture to say American, tradition, should raise their voices in protest when they are told that the aim of the American educational system ought to be the training of youth to be excellent mechanics, or clerks, or lawyers, doctors and engineers.

Moreover, New England culture, as it flourished in that famous generation before the Civil war, was distinctly literary. It is not famous for having produced an extraordinary number of scientists and scholars in the modern sense, although the names of Asa Gray, James Q. Dana, William Dwight Whitney and a host of others are enough to prove that in this field also it was by no means barren. Yet its great leaders, a Longfellow, a Lowell, an Emerson, were scholars rather in the old-fashioned sense, that is, men of wide information regarding the things that may be learned out of books, and superabundantly skilled in making the love so gathered enrich and embellish the mind. They did not, however, add any very appreciable amount to the stock of positive knowledge possessed by the world, which seems to be the simplest and most fundamental test of the scientist or scholar in the modern use of the term. To those who still cherish the earlier attitude, the claims of the modern specialist in pure science must appear no less preposterous and full of danger to the healthy growth of American civilization, than the pretensions of those who would make all education severely utilitarian. To put the matter in an extreme form: Can they witness without indignation a state of things in which a dry-as-dust dissertation on the peculiar dialect of some obscure mediaeval versifier is deemed much more appropriate for gaining the coveted title of doctor of

philosophy for its author than the most appreciative and delightful essay on Dante's glorious poetry? Surely, we cannot be surprised that from this side also the advocates of specialism meet with most determined opposition.

However, even the most convinced opponent of specialism cannot help seeing, if he looks about with open eyes to observe the social conditions surrounding him, that there is abundant need for vocational training in every department of our national life. Notwithstanding the gigantic development of manufacturing industries the greater portion of this country is still distinctly agricultural. There are sections where farming is done as skillfully and scientifically, considering the general economic conditions, as anywhere in the world, but in other regions, and perhaps the greater part of the whole country, farmers are ignorant even of the most fundamental principles of their occupation and till their lands no more skillfully than did the peasantry of Europe four hundred years ago. As a consequence, especially in many portions of the South, the rural districts are a synonym for poverty and general backwardness of civilization. Yet it is still an exception by no means frequent for children in rural schools to be taught the simple facts of plant life or the most patent truths regarding the relations of soils, manures and crops. When we go into the cities, conditions are not very much better. An unconscionable number of boys and girls leave school to enter industrial life without a training that fits them for any skilled work whatsoever, and the opportunities for learning a trade thoroughly after leaving school are, in many branches of industry, pitifully slender outside of the very large cities. Everywhere you hear the complaint that the really well-trained artisan is disappearing, and when one is found he is very apt to be a foreigner, most likely a German. Our own boys are lucky if they find a place in the factory where they may tend a machine with a few easily acquired movements, thus becoming "specialists" of a kind nobody admires. In the mean time, the schools go on teaching nothing but the so-called literary branches, as if all the pupils were going to be clerks and shopkeepers' assist-

ants. All this among the descendants of the Yankees whose inventive ingenuity and manual skill once was world-famous, and the backwoodsmen who with their own hands and an axe knew how to fashion almost every implement they required.

Nobody can deny that there is great need for vocational training among farmers and artisans, and we may add, among the commercial classes, for the details of business are generally carried on, in this country, in such a slovenly, hit-or-miss fashion, that our merchants are seriously handicapped thereby in competition with foreigners. How is it in those occupations requiring more elaborate mental training? We certainly have a number of most excellent schools of medicine and law, by the side of many inferior ones; and there are many very good engineering colleges. Is there need for carrying special training farther than is already being done in these institutions? It is impossible to speak advisedly in these matters outside of one's own profession, but to a lawyer it would certainly seem, without any intention of speaking invidiously of any of his legal brethren, as if too many members of the lawyers' guild had received barely enough professional training to carry on a "law business," while comparatively few show trained capacity or appreciation for the higher functions and social obligations of the profession. As for the engineers of every kind, a layman may be allowed to express surprise that their ability has, generally speaking, appeared to be limited, until now, to the coarser work, the comparatively simple kinds of machines, the less highly finished products. Why, else, was it that at the moment when the European war put obstacles in the way of importation we experienced a scarcity of such articles as chemical dyes, dentists' supplies, highly elaborated drugs, instruments of precision and scores of similar commodities? It cannot be for lack of capital that we do not manufacture these things at home, for we are able to lend many millions of dollars to foreigners. So it would seem that the difficulty must be our lack of skilled workmen and sufficiently trained engineers—in other words, that specialization has not yet gone far enough with us.

Will it be necessary, then, for us to choose the kind of training we shall adopt as our national characteristic—that of the specialist, or that of liberal culture? Shall we strain every effort so to arrange the education of our youths as to enable them, at the earliest possible age, to choose what vocation in life they will follow, and thereafter confine all their energies to that particular channel, in the hope that thereby we may develop a race of men who, by being each skilled to the utmost in one special line, though remaining ignorant of all others, may rise above competing nations in the practical concerns of life? Or shall we prefer to return to the older ideal of developing men rather than specialists, men who have, as nearly as possible, trained all the many faculties that human beings are endowed with, into a harmonious personality without acquiring abnormal skill in any special direction? Thereby we may certainly run the risk of being vanquished in the fight for dominion over the things of this world by nations with less idealistic but more practical aspirations.

In the current discussions of these questions it is nearly always assumed that we must necessarily decide to seize either horn of this dilemma. Rarely do we hear it suggested that both tendencies, that toward specialization and toward liberal culture, may well be reconciled; that it is possible to put into practice, if we do not take it too literally, the old precept about knowing something about everything and all about something. As it is commonly assumed, obviously with a great deal of truth, that Germany above all other countries abounds in thoroughly skilled specialists and owes to them in large measure the astonishing successes she has won in recent years, the advocates of specialization in the United States usually point to her as the shining example of what may be accomplished by following the national policy they favor.

On the other hand, there has been manifested for some time a distinct tendency among the adherents of the ideal of liberal culture towards an aversion if not downright hostility against German intellectual influence in this country. Those who entertain this feeling are quite agreed with the friends of

special training in the view that Germany above all countries is the land of specialism, and that to this she owes the kind of successes she has won in modern times. Instead, however, of looking at these successes as an example for emulation, they abhor them as a national policy to be shunned. Like most of the opposite party, they assume that the two ideals are mutually exclusive, and that Germany, in becoming extraordinarily efficient in practical concerns by her highly developed specialism, has deliberately abandoned those more spiritual ideals of liberal culture and the harmoniously developed personality which to the idealistic strain in the American people must ever outweigh all achievements in the fields of economics or political power.

It would not seem, however, as if the men and women who dread the German influence on American life because of its lack in liberal culture had taken the trouble of acquiring sufficient familiarity with recent phases of German intellectual movements to be profitable counselors for their countrymen. That otherwise well-informed and cultivated Americans display an astonishing ignorance of modern German literature, philosophy and art can be observed every day. Perhaps the grossest public manifestation of this condition of mind was seen when a little while ago a well-known teacher of literature in an Eastern university dogmatically announced that for more than half a century Germany had not produced a single writer really worth knowing, and that the last German of literary importance was Heine. This astonishing pronunciamento must have seemed very plausible to a great many hearers, although we may charitably assume that in the lecturer himself it was the result of heated partisanship produced by the war. For a surprisingly small number of Americans can be found whose knowledge of German literature since Heine extends beyond the mention of one or two names. One of these is usually Gerhard Hauptmann, who certainly ought to be known by every man claiming to be reasonably well informed in literary matters, and the other is Sudermann, who continues in this country to figure as one of the brightest stars in the dramatic sky—for hardly anybody

seems to have heard of his almost total eclipse in the eyes of the judicious in Germany. If further inquiry is made we may elicit the name of Wedekind, usually accompanied by a word of deprecation regarding "decadent art." So powerful a dramatist as Hebbel, to mention an older author, is practically unknown except to specialists, and so are writers of fiction such as Keller, Raabe, Thomas Mann. The great modern lyric poets of Germany, Liliencron, Dehmel, Rilke, Stefan George, Hofmannsthal and the host of others are not even names to cultivated Americans, for they have never heard of them. Yet among the same type of men it is not uncommon to find detailed acquaintance with every little versifier who spouts his precious prettinesses on the Paris boulevards, not to speak of familiarity with Maeterlinck and Verlaine. It is not different in the fine arts. Americans of liberal culture continue to know and admire the works of contemporary French painters and are completely ignorant of the existence of Boecklin, Thoma, Liebermann, not to mention younger men. Yet it is not uncommon to hear American painters express the view that German artists of the present day do far better work than their French fellows.

It may well be that this neglect of an adequate study of the conditions of German life may be the main cause of the prevalent assumptions regarding the incompatibility of liberal culture with the development of "terrible efficiency," as a widely-read periodical recently put it. Our students still flock to Germany, as they have done for several generations, in search of special knowledge or skill; but whatever they may bring back, it is rarely an intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the intellectual life of the German people, its literature and art, its fundamental beliefs and its attitude towards the great problems of existence. In the meantime, the other type of educated Americans ignore almost altogether the country east of the Vosges, and seek in France, or now and then in Italy or Spain, that rounding out of intellectual culture which everybody vaguely feels the purely Anglo-American type of mind requires for its own best development.

It is the purpose of this paper to show, by the example of a great American of German birth, who has touched American life at an unusual number of points and been a very potent influence for good, by his impressive personality and his teaching while living, by his writings published both during his life and after his death, that thorough specialistic skill and broad liberal culture are not mutually exclusive. We shall further make it apparent that it is an error to believe that what is known as special training or vocational education in the United States is the same system of education which has been the source of the greatness of modern Germany. The truth is rather that in Germany all special training proceeds on the basis of a liberal education previously acquired. In other words, the German youth is not allowed to specialize at all until he has acquired, in the proper preparatory school, an amount of training and information almost if not quite equivalent to the work done in American college courses professing to give a liberal education. It would be extravagant to say that the German student just entering the university to begin his specialized work is already a man of liberal culture in the American sense. His youth and immaturity would prevent that, but he has had so many windows opened for his mind that he must be of unusually dull intellect and sluggish temperament if all the specialized drudgery of his later life can prevent the light of liberal culture from coming in.

Francis Lieber was a typical product of the sort of education which German university men have undergone for many generations, an educational system that has been changed in detail from time to time, as circumstances required, but the underlying spirit of which is precisely the same at the present day as it was in the time of Wilhelm v. Humboldt and Goethe. If the ordinary man in the course of his professional or scholarly career in Germany does not accomplish as much as Lieber did, it is because he has not the capacity of mind, as indeed very few individuals could have. However, in sharp distinction from too many American specialists, he has learned to have at least a receptive interest in many of the things for

which men of liberal education care. In fact, it may be asserted that in proportion as the specialization of his own proper life work becomes more intense, he also retains or develops an interest in many other things. It is the ordinary practitioner in law or medicine, in the civil service or in the technical professions, the man who is a specialist only in a very general sense, that is in most danger of succumbing to the routine of daily drudgery and losing interest in cultural matters unconnected with his professional work. Anybody having a reasonable acquaintance with German scholars and professional men will have to come to this conclusion.

How very wide the active interests of Francis Lieber were will become apparent as we examine his life and the record of his achievements. Perhaps we may therefore hear this assertion: His very record shows that Lieber was not a specialist at all, and his example, far from proving that a man may at the same time be a specialist and a man of liberal culture, goes to show how desirable it would be, even from a utilitarian standpoint looking towards social welfare, to have men who are liberally trained rather than those who know how to do a single thing extremely well. The answer to such an objection would seem to be easy. In the first place, Professor Lieber was indeed a specialist. The thing which he could do better than anybody in his own lifetime and better than any man now living, was the tracing of the faint border line between law and morals. That is why of all his works the book on political ethics will probably retain the greatest permanent value, and why he was one of the few men who have carried international law a goodly step forward on the road towards becoming a real body of consistent rules compelling universal acceptance by their inherent reason, instead of being a conglomerate of pious wishes and vague preachments.

The conclusive answer to such objectors, however, is the following: The real character of the special training given by the German educational system is not at all a narrow and mechanical drill in the skill and knowledge directly connected with some particular course of work. That is what special

training in the United States becomes—not rarely, but fortunately by no means always. The special skill and knowledge is indeed imparted by the German system, and nowhere more thoroughly and efficiently, but this is done incidentally, as a by-product, as one might say, of a much wider course of developing the minds of students. The principal aim of every German university teacher is not the imparting of a special technique, but the acquisition by the students of what is comprehensively, if somewhat vaguely, known as scientific method.

This scientific method, as distinguished from scientific technique, is an element which must underlie all really productive work in science and scholarship. It is partly a moral and partly an intellectual quality. A moral one, because it involves before all other things a most intense love of truth—the sort of almost fanatical love that is symbolized in Francis Lieber's famous motto: *"Patria cara, libertas carior, veritas carissima."* This implies a profound reverence for fact, taking that term in its broadest sense so as to include also what is sometimes called "internal facts," meaning those which are present only in the mind—states of feeling, beliefs, desires. No offense can be worse, in the eyes of scientific method, than to fail to take into consideration any existing fact, no matter how disconcerting, which has any possible bearing on the problem under investigation.

There are other moral qualities without which scientific method cannot exist: Patience that will not tire until a subject is pursued to the last point which the state of scholarship prevailing at the time makes possible; thoroughness that never contents itself with half-knowledge or guesswork where a greater degree of certainty is obtainable; generous unselfishness which cares far more that knowledge be carried a step farther than that the investigator himself be the fortunate discoverer, and would much rather co-operate with fellow-workers than enter into ambitious rivalries with them. Perhaps, however, even more characteristic of scholarly method is the intellectual element, which may be summed up in a single phrase: The full use of human reason. Therein is implied first of all

the power of logical thinking, but no less the critical use of the imagination. He who would be a true scholar, moreover, will have to know how to generalize from the data he has gathered, and no less how to resist the temptation of making generalizations, no matter how brilliant, when the data at hand do not render it safe. He must learn how to use an hypothesis in order to find, if he can, additional facts, and shun as he would the Prince of Evil, the besetting sin of clever minds: the building of one hypothesis upon another.

The ideal which the universities of Germany—and indeed all universities that are worthy of the name in the United States and every other country—constantly uphold is the inculcation of this scientific method into the minds of their students until they follow it instinctively in all their professional operations, whether these be in the province of pure or applied science. It is evident that the acquiring of the technique of any special branch of scholarship is a comparatively simple matter after the mind has once fully grasped and assimilated the principles of scientific method. In practice the processes of acquiring the one and the other will usually go on simultaneously, and a properly taught student will learn the technique of his specialty from the same lecture, books, and seminar or laboratory exercises that put him gradually into possession of scientific method. It is also fairly obvious that mere technique could be taught to a person who otherwise might remain quite uneducated. For instance, it is imaginable that some man might by long application and practice become extraordinarily skillful in all the manipulations necessary for removing the vermiform appendix without knowing anything about physiology or pathology; but he would hardly be a person to whom an intelligent patient would entrust himself. Or, if the old common law pleadings were still in vogue in all their ancient intricacies, it would not be impossible for a man with a knack for formal logic to become a skillful special pleader without having any profound knowledge of the law as a whole. That is what, as a matter of fact, happened constantly in England in the heyday of the old system. Such a special pleader was indeed a

specialist of the sort which, it is to be feared, not a few of the American advocates of vocational training have in mind, and the friends of liberal culture are certainly justified in opposing the wholesale breeding of his kind.

From what has been said it is apparent that the German type of specialist has quite different characteristics. For it is obviously impossible to acquire a comprehension of scientific method by mere drill as can be done with technique. The very process of acquiring method implies so broad and many-sided a training that of itself it would confer upon the student something very much like liberal culture even if he had not come to the university with at least the raw material of such culture already in his possession. The German with university training, therefore, combines in his own person the results of the two kinds of education which in the United States are so often believed to be incompatible, while the old-fashioned type of "the gentleman and the scholar," who is still met with in the United States and who is supposed to be bred to perfection in Oxford and Cambridge, is not very common in Germany. In fact, it seems that he is not very highly esteemed in that country because it is said that a man of education without a specialty and without a training in scientific method is almost certain to become a mere *dilettante* instead of taking his part in the common work of the world.

Thus Francis Lieber combined in his own person the qualities of the man of culture, as is shown by the almost bewildering variety of his interests, and the specialist in full command of general scientific method as well as the technique of his own special field. It would seem, therefore, to be particularly fitting to place before the American public a study of this extraordinary man as an illustration of the results which the German ideal of education may produce at its best. Thereby we may aid, perhaps, in solving the question now troubling so many minds, how our own educational system may be brought into closer correspondence with the undeniable needs of modern social conditions, without giving up the ideals which have in the past inspired the best elements of the American people.

To lose those ideals would be the greatest calamity that could happen, for the permanence of civilization itself is inextricably bound up with them. An exclusive devotion to technique, as it is apparently in the minds of a large number of energetic advocates of change, must necessarily end in the grossest materialism and the gradual decay of all the finer flowers of humanity.

An exclusive devotion to technique would not even attain the immediate end it has in view, namely, the greatest possible practical efficiency. For we have already seen that Germany, the efficiency of whose activities not even her bitterest enemies dispute, is very far from laying principal stress on the cultivation of technique. It is sometimes maintained that modern Germany has abandoned this principle, and of late, presumably since she achieved her political unity and rose to commercial and industrial greatness, sought her salvation exclusively in the development of technical efficiency. If the presentation of the facts, as given in outline above, is correct, this cannot be so, and any open-minded observer of conditions in modern Germany will come to the conclusion that the principles on which the educational system of that country is based have undergone no fundamental change for a hundred years.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS LIEBER.

Francis Lieber was born on March 18, 1800, at Berlin, in the Breite Strasse, where his father conducted a hardware business. He had nine brothers and three sisters, and of this large family he was the tenth child. His father's pecuniary circumstances seem to have been far from affluent, although on the other hand neither the family nor Francis Lieber himself ever experienced actual want. Yet rigid economy was the rule of the household.

Lieber's biography has never been properly written. He himself has contributed a good deal of autobiographical material in the way of recollections, letters and a diary, all of

which makes most enjoyable reading. There still is a great deal of unpublished material of this sort, at Johns Hopkins University and elsewhere. The principal published source, the "Life and Letters," edited by Thomas Sergeant Perry, contains merely a portion of the letters and diary, sometimes mere fragments. How well the selection was made, could be judged only by a close comparison with the unpublished material. The two volumes of "Miscellaneous Writings," compiled after his death, contain but a part of the autobiographical writings. The latter relate principally to the picturesque incidents of his earlier life. The short biographies by Lewis R. Harley and Frederick William Holls (the latter in German) supply little, if anything, that may not also be found in the larger work by Perry.

In this state of the record we are still ignorant or uncertain about a number of facts which would help us to understand this extraordinary man. Many of these data it would not be difficult to discover or verify, and it may be hoped that some industrious and enthusiastic student will some day undertake that task. In this place it is not intended to furnish a formal biography, but merely a study of the man and the place he holds in the intellectual history of the American people. One of the data needing verification is the statement in Perry (page 30) that Lieber acquired the doctor's degree at Jena in the year 1820. We are not told what his dissertation was nor even in what "faculty" the degree was taken. The extreme youth of the candidate would not necessarily make this fact improbable, for doctor's degrees have been taken at even earlier ages. However, Lieber had then been a university student but a short time, and his preparatory schooling was extremely irregular and interrupted, so that his taking the degree under such circumstances would be a very unusual feat. The records of the university will, of course, show the fact if somebody would but take the trouble to inquire.

The period in which Lieber's childhood and youth was spent bears for the German people a two-fold aspect, one of splendor and immortal glory, on account of the surprising numbers of

poets, philosophers and scholars of the highest rank whose works were produced in those inspiring days; the other of national defeat and oppression by a foreign foe, followed by shameful misgovernment at home. The biographers have chosen to dwell exclusively on the political side of the environment in which Lieber spent his early days. Perhaps that is natural, considering that Lieber's principal interest was in public affairs, and that the political misery of his native country most profoundly affected the external course of his life. It is obvious, however, that the quality of his work, his profound scholarship, the breadth of his intellectual horizon, were the result of far different influences. If we wish to understand these things, we shall have to take a glance at the non-political side of German life in the early years of the nineteenth century. Having done so, we shall also be in a better position to understand the nature of that combination of special skill with liberal culture, which in the preceding chapter we have called characteristic of German intellectual life, and which Francis Lieber's example may help to spread in the United States.

The year in which Lieber was born may well be considered as marking the point that divides the famous flowering period of German intellectual life into two distinct portions. The last third of the eighteenth century was the time of the great classical poets and of Immanuel Kant. Beginning with the body of ideas commonly known as the Enlightenment, the intellectually alert young men of that epoch soon developed beyond the somewhat arid and uninspiring mental attitude characteristic of the philosophy known by that name. There was a brief period of "Storm and Stress," a period when the whole intellectual world seemed to show the phenomena which in individual lives we know as those of early adolescence. There was the same unbridled imagination and equally unbridled emotionality, the same restless and unsteady trying of many things, the same egotism unrestrained by fixed standards outside of one's own personality. Like the Enlightenment, of which the new movement was the bitter and zealous opponent, "Storm and Stress" was not confined to Germany. Especially

that wave of excessive sentimentality which for a while made everybody ruin untold handkerchiefs by an over-supply of tears, came to the continent from England, where it had found literary expression in Henry MacKenzie's novel, "The Man of Feeling." In Germany, Goethe rid himself of this sickness by writing the "Sorrows of Werther," and at the same time intensified the paroxysm all the world over. When the turmoil of this transition period had ceased, there came for Germany the golden days of Weimar, the culmination time of Schiller's work, the great middle period in Goethe's life, during which he wrote Iphigenie and Tasso, and the Travels in Italy. Now was fashioned one side of the shield of German idealism: Universality of intellectual outlook and harmonic development of all the powers of human personality. Basing their thought, and their lives no less, on what they conceived to be the spirit of ancient Greece, the two friends at the little Thuringian court taught to their nation and the world the immortal value and dignity of the human individual. That value and dignity was conceived not in a narrowly ecclesiastical spirit, as had from time to time been done in the past, nor with one-sided stress upon the ethical life, as was done by the Puritans, but with full consciousness that every side of human nature ought to be developed to the highest point individual limitations allow it to reach. No doubt, man is a moral being, and no Puritan ever attained the rigorous austerity of Kant's ethical principles, by which thousands of the men of that period, and none more than Schiller himself, were so profoundly affected. Man, however, is an intellectual being also, and who was ever more ardently inspired by the desire for knowledge than Schiller and Goethe, and the host of minor leaders in what in time came to be known as the cause of Humanism? Finally, man is an aesthetic being, whose spirit responds and opens itself to the joy of life that comes from the contemplation of beauty in all its forms. What generation of men was more fitted to comprehend the beauty of the world and to foster its cultivation than that which produced the classical writers of Germany? Thus we have the three-fold root of German idealism: Equal devotion to the Good, the True and the Beautiful.

He would fall far short of reading German civilization aright who should fail to see that this three-fold motto is still a dynamic power in influencing the lives of men. Whoever has spent his boyhood on the benches of a German *gymnasium* has heard it a hundred times from the lips of his teachers. No doubt it was little more than a sounding phrase to his immature mind, but a phrase that stuck in the memory and tantalized the intelligence by its suggestive and mysterious incomprehensibility. Be it so that to many it has never revealed its significance in after life, and that by some the words are repeated like empty sounds, attractive by their respectable appearance, as some Americans may idly reiterate the glittering generalities of the Declaration of Independence. Some there are, however, in every generation, to whom the cryptic words have become a living reality, a shining constellation on the horizon of their souls, by which to steer in the eternal quest for a solution of the riddle of existence.

When we say that the year of Lieber's birth marked the end of the first half of this great epoch in Germany's intellectual history, we must not be taken too literally. Schiller was still alive, and several of his great dramas had not yet been given to the world, while Kleist's great work was still to come. More than one-third of the long and full career of Goethe was still before him. Yet it is true that no poet or dramatist of the first rank arose in the generation born when the nineteenth century was young. The prevailingly aesthetic character of the preceding decades changed and the best minds now turned to scholarly rather than literary pursuits. The time came in which those great men flourished who have laid the foundations of the humanistic sciences as we understand them today, by developing and cultivating that scientific method of which we have spoken in the preceding chapter. Continuing the work of Kant, there now came the great idealistic philosophers: Fichte, Schelling, Herbert. Hegel, and the latter's embittered antagonist and successor in dominion over men's minds, Schopenhauer. In their train, and to a great extent under their influence, came the galaxy of scholars in special fields: The historians, like

Niebuhr and Ranke; jurists, like Savigny; philologians, like Wolf, Hermann, Boeckh, and the greatest of them all, the brothers Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm. As a connecting link between the older and the new generations, we may mention an even more illustrious pair of brothers, Alexander and Wilhelm v. Humboldt, the comprehensiveness of whose interests and the universality of whose genius was a marvel even in that day of broad and universal minds.

The two Humboldts, and especially Wilhelm, who was one of the leading statesmen as well as one of the foremost scholars of his time, may help us to direct our attention to another element in the lives of the generation contemporary with Francis Lieber. In the minds of the older men—Lessing, Wieland, Herder, of Goethe and Schiller themselves—politics, whether conceived as an art or a science, played a surprisingly small part. Goethe, for a dozen years or so of his life, was the chief of the administration of a principality, and till his death remained in close touch with certain aspects of public affairs at least. All the more astonishing is the fact that in his voluminous published writings of every kind there is hardly any direct trace of the fact that their author was not simply Wolfgang Goethe, but His Excellency, the Privy Councillor and former Minister of State. We need not go into an explanation of this singular fact. It is known to all that the political condition of Germany could hardly be worse than it was towards the end of the eighteenth century. Externally, the nation was split up into a multitude of petty principalities and city republics, with but two states, Austria and Prussia, that were large enough to have independent weight in the community of European powers. Internally, the government was in the hands of absolute princes or scarcely less absolute town councils, while the administrative functions were divided among a pedantic bureaucracy and a selfish aristocratic class. Of popular participation in political affairs there was literally none. What wonder that even the best minds turned with indifference from all thought of political matters!

A polity so constituted could not possibly withstand a tempest such as raged through Europe as a consequence of the revolutionary catastrophe in France. When Francis Lieber was just about old enough to have mastered the alphabet, in the fall of 1806, the victorious Frenchmen entered Berlin. It is related that the little boy, watching from his window in the Breite Strasse the enemy marching past, burst into tears as if his heart would break. Nor did the impression ever wear away. Four years later, at the darkest hour of Germany's subjection to the despotism of Napoleon, he managed to get an interview with Ferdinand v. Schill, one of the over-zealous patriots who, before the hour had come, tried to throw off the yoke by an abortive popular rising. In his recollections, Lieber tells graphically how he became himself a sort of hero in the eyes of his schoolmates on account of having spoken to Schill and how he reluctantly exchanged one of two impressions of his seal which the insurgent leader had given him for his collection, for the arms of the House of Austria and the King of Saxony. The spirit of patriotism was fostered at home, and especially by the fact that the boy at an early age came under the influence of Jahn, the founder of the gymnastic societies which under the name of "Turner Societies" have been transplanted also to this country. In the meantime, his studies were carried on in a somewhat irregular manner, for his eager mind turned restlessly from one interest to another, and it seems to have been his father's plan to give his son wide liberty in trying different things. The published biographies are a trifle vague on this point. It would seem that, after having mastered the rudiments, he entered the *Gymnasium*. Then there was an episode during which he was apprenticed to a landscape gardener, and later he entered the "*Pépinière*," an institution which still exists in a modified form, but at that time was a sort of cadet school for military surgeons. There he seems to have been a pupil when the famous appeal of the King of Prussia to his people was issued, early in the year 1813, and the manhood of the country rushed to arms in order to throw off the Napoleonic yoke. Francis, of course, was much

too young to join his two elder brothers in volunteering for the war, but one can readily imagine what fever heat of patriotic fervor burst forth in the boy, who had for several years lived in an atmosphere of quiet preparation and expectation of great things to come. He himself tells of a vow he made at that time, solemnly and in a paroxysm of sobbing, that he would make his way near Napoleon and kill him, so that it would not be necessary for two great armies to slaughter each other.

Two years later, when Napoleon returned from Elba, Francis' patriotic heart had what it most desired. Again he himself tells us how he was in his room studying with his school books, when his father burst through the door with the exclamation: "Boys, clean your rifles! He is loose again!" This time, Francis was accepted as a volunteer. We may assume that, possibly as a result of the athletic training and the long walking tours he had taken under the guidance of "Father" Jahn, he was physically strong beyond the usual strength of lads of fifteen. At any rate, in company with one of his brothers he joined the Kolberg regiment of infantry. This particular regiment was picked out by the boys because it was in garrison near the French border and therefore most likely to get to the front without delay. They had reckoned correctly, for within a few weeks they took part in the battles of Ligny and Belle Alliance (commonly, but improperly called the battle of Waterloo). On the following day, his regiment became part of the army corps which pursued Vandamme in the direction of Namur. The fatigue of the long march was too much for the boy, and he dropped out of the ranks. When soon after, however, he heard shots and realized that a battle was in progress, all the exhaustion seemed to leave him. He ran forward, joined a group of soldiers and was soon in the fighting line. On this day, he was severely wounded, and his military service was over, for the present.

Lieber's experiences during this campaign are most interestingly told by himself in the "Letters to a Gentleman in Germany" (Philadelphia, 1835) which are partly reprinted both in the "Miscellaneous Writings" and the "Life and Letters." It

seems that his restoration to health took many months, during all of which his family was ignorant of his whereabouts. At last, however, he recovered, if we can judge from the healthy vigor of his later years.

Francis, by this time, was barely sixteen years of age, and the natural thing to do was to resume his studies. He became a pupil in the *Gymnasium "Zum Grauen Kloster,"* at Berlin, no doubt with the intention of preparing for the university. Again, the published biographies are exceedingly confused and fail to give us such easily ascertainable facts as when he graduated, or whether he ever became matriculated at the University of Berlin. At any rate, it is certain that during the next three years he came more and more under the influence of Jahn. Since the end of the war, the character of the Turner societies had assumed a more pronounced political cast. Like the "Deutsche Burschenschaft," the patriotic students' society, they agitated in favor of reforms in the condition of the German nation, and soon attracted the suspicion of the government.

At this point it will be necessary, in order to understand the further course of Francis Lieber's life, to take a rapid glance at the political history of Germany after the Wars of Liberation had been carried to glorious victory. The representatives of the various governments, both the allied victors and the defeated French, met at the Congress of Vienna to settle the map of Europe. There could be no doubt that Prussia had done more than any other power towards the common object. The Russian troops had not specially distinguished themselves, nor had the Austrians, although both fought bravely. The English, so far as the war on land was concerned, had sent an insignificant expeditionary corps, and even this, although re-enforced by a much larger number of Hanoverians, Brunswickers and other Germans, had been saved from annihilation merely by the extraordinary energy of Blücher and his Prussians. Yet, at the Congress, Prussia's voice counted for very little. The Russian Czar and the representative of England settled affairs between them in the

manner which best suited their interests. Austria was not averse to having her rival in Germany robbed of many of the fruits of victory, and was especially anxious not to have the smaller German states consolidated under the leadership of Prussia. The result was, that instead of establishing in Germany a central government capable of conducting an independent policy there was founded a loose confederation which Austria could reasonably hope would never be more than a tail to her own kite.

Few patriotic Germans could be satisfied with this form of national government, which was hardly much better than the misery of the old Holy Roman Empire. There arose everywhere a desire for unification in a more efficient form, and this movement for unity became closely allied with a movement for a more modern form of rule within the separate states.

At first, almost everybody seemed to agree that the absolute governments, such as they existed when the Napoleonic tempest broke over the country, could not be reintroduced, and even in the constitution of the German Confederation an article was inserted promising some form of popular representation to the several states. Soon after the war was over, there began a wide-spread popular desire for tranquility after the volcanic turmoil of the last quarter of a century. The Liberal tradition likes to make it appear as if the reaction against everything in any way connected with the idea of the French Revolution came exclusively from the governments which desired to maintain themselves in their old absolute power. That is hardly in accordance with the facts, for large masses of men, who were as patriotic Germans as any of the Liberals, felt the same fear and hatred of everything savoring even remotely of revolution as inspired the minds of Metternich or Gentz. If by nothing else, that would be proven by the wide popularity acquired in those days by the political doctrines or fancies of the Romantic School. However, it is equally true that the governments of most of the states, and especially the two large ones, Austria and Prussia, resolved to suppress every move-

ment for change, whether in the direction of greater unity or more liberal forms of internal government.

The leader in this reaction was Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor of State, whose personality dominated German politics during the next thirty years. Under his influence, thousands of patriotic Germans who incurred the suspicion of the authorities as entertaining Liberal opinions were imprisoned, hampered in their professional labors, and persecuted in every possible way, although in the rarest cases only were the inquisitors able to bring home to them acts that approached the character of revolutionary designs. When, on March 23, 1819, Karl Sand, a theological student imbued with fanatical religious and patriotic fervor, assassinated the playwright Kotzebue who was suspected of being a Russian spy, the persecution of "demagogues," as they were called, assumed an unheard of intensity. Among the victims were Jahn and his young friend, Francis Lieber.

In the month of July, 1819, Francis was arrested and was kept in prison for four months, while the authorities rummaged in his papers and plied him with questions, but did not succeed in finding evidence against him beyond some high talk and youthful rodomontade. Finally he was released, but forbidden to study at any Prussian university. Whether at this time he was already a matriculated student in Berlin does not appear. He now went to Jena, the one university which, under the protection of Grand Duke Carl August of Weimar, the friend of Göthe, was the center of the Liberal movements of the time. Here he is said to have taken his doctor's degree, as was stated above. Very little is recorded regarding his studies there, but from a letter to his father, written by the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, one would infer that it was Lieber's intention, at that time, to prepare himself for the post of teacher in a *gymnasium*. In that letter, however, his father was informed that the young man could not hope for an appointment in Prussia. At the same time, however, the former order forbidding his studies at Prussian universities was recalled, and he was directed to go to Halle. This he

did, accordingly. It is said that in this university Lieber's studies were largely mathematical. It is apparent, from the scanty evidence we have, that even at this early age he must have had an unusual range of intellectual interests.

In the autumn of 1821, during a sojourn at Dresden, Lieber surprised his parents by the announcement that he would join the Philhellenes, enthusiastic youths who gathered from all parts of Europe and even the United States to help the Greeks in their struggle of liberation from the Turks. Naturally, the governments as then constituted, frowned upon such expeditions, and it required some ingenuity in deceiving the police, before Lieber succeeded in getting out of the country for that purpose. He managed to get to Marseilles, however, and about New Year 1822, in company with nearly a hundred comrades, embarked for Greece. Most of the adventurers were Germans, but there were also Danes, Poles, Frenchmen and Italians.

Within three months he was back in Italy, disillusioned, robbed of his few possessions, disgusted, and with a batch of experiences which he has interestingly told in a little book (Tagebuch meines Aufenthaltes in Griechenland; Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1823) parts of which are found translated in the "Life and Letters." He landed at Ancona practically penniless, but a school friend who happened to be in Rome sent him money enough to take him to that city, where he presently arrived, not without having had again to practice ingenuity in deceiving the police, on account of the strange condition of his passport.

At Rome, Lieber called on the Prussian minister at the Papal court and frankly stated to him the plight in which he found himself. This post was held, at that time, by no less a personage than the historian of Rome, Berthold Georg Niebuhr. He seems to have taken a fancy to the young adventurer at very first sight, kept him to dinner, notwithstanding the more than disreputable condition of his clothes, procured for him the necessary permission of the police for a protracted stay in Rome, and presently made him the tutor of his children.

The year spent in Italy with Niebuhr seems to have stood out forever after in Lieber's memory as the happiest of his life. It came to an end when the envoy was recalled to Prussia. Lieber returned to Berlin and resumed his studies at the university, with the permission of the authorities obtained for him by Niebuhr's intercession; more than that, upon representing that he had renounced his youthful extravagancies regarding politics he received a *"stipendium"* to assist him in preparing himself for some definite profession. Just what his plans were, at this time, we are again uninformed. It seems, however, that both at Berlin and at Halle, where he went again for a while, his interests were largely directed towards mathematics.

However, notwithstanding the assurances of the Minister of Police, v. Kamptz, who seems to have been kindly disposed towards him, ambitious members of the special commission in charge of the investigations against "demagogues" still had their eye on the young man. In the spring of 1824, he was summoned to testify relative to the supposed conspiracies, but had nothing to tell. During the summer following, the inquisitors seem to have flattered themselves, at last, to have discovered the secret they had looked for so long. They had found evidence of some connection between German students and some members of French secret political societies—the famous "Marianne," we dare say. There was a great stir. Suspicion was cast on men of the highest position—even the great Stein, and also on Lieber's friend Niebuhr. This time, there seems to have been something in Lieber's knowledge that was of some importance, for he stoutly refused to testify, whereupon he was promptly incarcerated in the small fortress of Koepenick, near Berlin, where he stayed until the following April. His release was brought about by Niebuhr's application directly to the King.

The secret which Lieber refused to tell at the risk of indefinitely prolonged imprisonment was probably innocent enough. Historical investigations into the doings of the *"Burschenschaft"* and the friends of that organization, al-

though they have gone into minute detail, have failed to show anything that would not, at most, have been passed over with a smile at youthful indiscretion by any government less nervous and less fanatical for absolute tranquility than the authorities which took their cue from Metternich. There was among the "demagogues" a sort of inner circle, vaguely known as the "Blacks" or the "Absolutes," the members of which may have had indefinite plans or rather desires that might be construed as treasonable under an absolute government, but even they do not seem to have ever proceeded to overt acts. The leading spirit in this group was Karl Follenius (Charles Follen), who afterwards became a Unitarian minister in New England. We have no evidence that Lieber had any connection with these amateur conspirators, nor do we even know that he ever belonged to the *"Burschenschaft."*

The imprisonment which Lieber suffered at the fortress, bad as it was, must not be imagined too severe. It was not a penitentiary nor even an American county jail, and no social stigma attached to him for having suffered it. He was at liberty to pursue his studies from books; in fact it was at this time that he published his little collection of poems; the title was "Songs of Wine and Joy"—"Wein und Wonnelieder"—which is hardly suggestive of prison walls and clanking chains. The worst of the whole affair was that his prospects of employment under the government, or of a regular professional career, in Prussia at least, were for the present completely destroyed. During the following summer, he accepted the place of tutor with the family of Count Bernstorff. He also thought of literature as a means of livelihood; at any rate, he wrote a play which the theatrical manager to whom he presented it politely declined.

How Francis Lieber impressed his friends at this time may be seen from a letter written by one who had seen much of him in the days before he went to Greece. A cousin, by name of Baur, writes as follows:

> "I found our relation changed. We were never again so intimate as we had been. Perhaps he was implicated in some of the political intrigues and there were secrets which he had to keep.

His brother Edward invited me to meet him at dinner, and we spent an evening talking together at my cousin's, Eichens, the engraver. His brother Gustavus, Francis and I also took lessons in English together. But Francis had grown quieter. Italy had changed him by giving him a feeling for art. He cultivated his aesthetic tastes and was composing poems. . . . . He . . . . associated a good deal with literary people. He knew a great many ladies and had become very different from what he was in the old 'Turner' days. To be sure, even then he used to write poety, but his patriotic, gymnastic, semi-religious ideas have been succeeded by more serious intellectual interests."*

In the meantime, it had become absolutely necessary for him to find some permanent occupation. With the help of Niebuhr and other influential friends, of whom he had made many since his return to Germany, he tried once more to obtain a government appointment. When this, however, had no immediate result, he suddenly executed a plan which he seems to have contemplated more or less vaguely for some time. He left home for England, secretly and without informing even his family of what he meant to do. On May 22, 1826, armed with letters of introduction to some German residents in London, and with a certificate from Major-General v. Pfuel, who was in charge of the municipal swimming school in Berlin, showing that he had "skill and dexterity required to conduct a swimming school," Lieber stepped aboard a ship at Blankenese, near Hamburg, and sailed for England.

During the following year, he stayed in London, trying to support himself by teaching German and Italian. He made some useful acquaintances, but on the whole seems to have had a hard time of it. Among those he met were some Americans, a Mr. Bond, of Boston, and John Neal, of Portland, an author of some reputation in those days and a close friend of Jeremy Bentham. It may have been through these gentlemen that he received an invitation to take charge of a newly established gymnasium and swimming school in Boston. He accepted this offer, and on June 20, 1827, set foot on American soil in New York, proceeding almost immediately to Boston.

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* Translated in Perry, Life and Letters, p. 61.

With his coming to the United States, the early period of Lieber's life, with its vicissitudes, its adventuresome experiences, and its picturesque incidents, came to an end. Henceforth, there are few external occurrences to lend color to the picture painted by the biographers. He led the quiet existence of a scholar and teacher, maturing his thoughts, increasing the breadth of his outlook upon life, rising constantly in the esteem of the best men in America, until he crowned his career by fifteen fruitful years as professor in Columbia University, when he had become one of the conspicuous men, not only in this country but in the world.

Managing a gymnasium was hardly sufficient to occupy fully a mind as alert as that of Lieber; he began at once to correspond regularly for a number of German periodicals, and almost immediately started on his first great work, the publication of the Encyclopaedia Americana, the first edition of which was published by Cary, Lea & Cary of Philadelphia in 1829. The work was based principally on Brockhaus' "*Conversations-Lexicon,*" the seventh edition. A corps of translators was employed in doing the bulk of the work, but a large number of articles were entirely rewritten to bring them up to date and adapt them to the needs of Americans. In addition, there were a large number of articles on specifically American subjects, especially biographies. Most of the re-writing seems to have been done by Lieber himself, on subjects ranging from the philosophy of Cousin to the art of cookery. For the American articles he succeeded in obtaining the aid of a long list of eminent men, at the top of which stood no less a person than Judge Joseph Story, while among the others were Peter Stephen Duponceau, J. G. Palfrey, J. K. Paulding, Nathan Appleton, George Ticknor and many others. This fact, of course, gave the young scholar fresh from Germany a standing and an acquaintance among men worth knowing all over the country, which under ordinary circumstances could have been acquired only in many years.

The work of superintending the preparation of this encyclopaedia and writing articles himself whenever there was none better fitted to do it, was, in a sense, journalistic. No man could possibly have at his finger's ends all the diversified information required for that purpose. These subjects had to be "gotten up," as the slang of the newspaper world has it. Hundreds of journalistic writers at the present day are busily engaged in "getting up information," and deposit the result of their investigation in newspapers and the popular magazines. Superficially, it may look as if Lieber's work was of the same sort. The product of the ordinary journalistic work, however, is of so unreliable, hasty, inaccurate a character, and so full of obvious and sometimes absurd misconceptions, that "newspaper science" has become a byword to all who are competent to judge. No such faults will be found in the early editions of the Encyclopaedia, and especially in those articles which are apparently from Lieber's hand there is no trace of that inaccuracy and general slovenliness which characterizes so much mere journalistic work. This difference, we have every reason to believe, is the result of the training Lieber had received at German universities in that scientific method which in the preceding chapter we described as the most important intellectual gift a university can bestow upon its students. The fact that he had been trained in this method, and that fact alone, enabled Francis Lieber to bring to bear upon the most generalized work imaginable all the skill an army of specialists could have applied to it. Thus, at the very outset of his American career, he gave an illustration of how the excellences of a broad, liberal education and the intensified skill of special training may be combined, and are actually combined in the educational ideal fostered by German institutions.

The pecuniary returns from the Encyclopaedia Americana were sufficient to enable Lieber to marry a lady to whom he had become engaged while still living in England. However, during the next five years, while he supported himself by miscellaneous writing and lecturing, he cast about with some anxiety for some permanent position which should put him on

a safe pecuniary footing. He began the study of American law with a view to its practice, but so far as the published accounts of his life are concerned we do not learn that he was ever admitted to the bar. This is rather surprising in a man who was so eminently gifted with what is sometimes called "a legal mind," and who, during the last years of his life especially, achieved such great success, both practical and theoretical, in at least one branch of the law. It is characteristic of the thoroughness and spirit of universality with which his German training had imbued him, that one of the first things he did, as a preliminary to his law studies, was to write to the eminent German jurist Mittermaier, asking for a list of German juridical books he ought to read. In other words, this German scholar could not imagine how he could become efficient in the practice of American law if he confined himself to the special study of the system of law he was to apply in daily business. He had so little faith in mere specialism, that he must needs have some acquaintance with some other system of law in order to be able, by comparison, really to understand his own.

Among the many more or less journalistic articles which Lieber published during this period, there were a number dealing with various questions of education. These seem to have given him quite a reputation as an educational expert. At any rate, in 1833, he was invited, by the trustees of Girard College, in Philadelphia, to draw up a constitution and working plan for the institution under their care. A portion of the introduction to the elaborate report he submitted is reprinted in the "Miscellaneous Writings." For us, this work is interesting especially as showing how Lieber was able to apply the educational principles in which he was trained himself to the very different and somewhat peculiar conditions under which the new college must work. For the founder had been a man of pronounced opinions and taken care to provide in the instrument establishing the gift that his convictions should be considered in the policy of the institution. No man who was merely drilled in some special direction, nor any man with a

liberal education but lacking a comprehension for the skill in detail that is required for efficiency, could have been successful in this matter. The task demanded just such a man as Lieber who by his sense of scientific method was enabled to separate underlying principles from the mere changeable means by which principles may be made practically efficacious under varying circumstances.

Two years later, on June 11, 1835, he was notified of his election to the chair of History and Political Economy at the University of South Carolina, and on October 10 of the same year he arrived in Columbia. There he lived and labored for 23 years, until in 1857 he removed to New York and soon after was elected to a chair in Columbia University.

In the little provincial town, the capital of the slave state of South Carolina, in a social and political atmosphere that could not but be repugnant in numerous respects to many of Lieber's most profound convictions, his two principal works, the "Political Ethics" and "Civil Liberty and Self Government," were written. No trace can be found in these of the isolation in which he found himself, not merely on account of his anti-slavery principles but still more so by reason of the absence of nearly all scientific interests among the people with whom he lived. In his letters to friends in the North this feeling of isolation crops out constantly. It is evidence of the remarkable tact and self-restraint of which he was possessed that Lieber was able, for nearly a quarter of a century, to hold a position in which he necessarily influenced the younger generation of the community in noticeable degree and consequently was specially exposed to the jealousies and fears of those who suspected or abhorred his principles. It is interesting that the most severe attacks made on him proceeded, not from the champions of slavery, but from narrowly sectarian religionists who charged him with being an "infidel." The charge was stupid. For while no doubt Lieber was unwilling to put his beliefs in the keeping of any set of ecclesiastics, he was removed *"toto caelo"* from any spirit of antagonism to religion or even the insitutional organization of religions. The best

men of the commonwealth never failed in giving him their firm support, even when they differed with him in many of his views. No doubt they were well aware of the lustre his national reputation shed upon the little college of which he was by far the most conspicuous member.

Towards the end of his stay in Columbia, however, the shadows cast before by the approaching secession and civil war made his surroundings more and more uncongenial. The end came, when in 1856 he failed of being elected to the presidency of the institution. It seems that he was the choice of most of the alumni and many of the leading men in the state. Another man was preferred to him, not on account of Lieber's anti-slavery views, but as a consequence of the old religious antagonism. Thereupon he resigned his professorship, to take effect after a year. In 1857, he left Columbia and went to New York, where somewhat later he was appointed professor of history and political economy at Columbia University. He proposed, from the first, to give instruction in political science, for his interest in economics had never been anything but secondary. In accordance with his wish, his title was soon after changed to that of professor of history and political science.

It is evident that Lieber considered his removal to New York much in the light of return from exile. During his sojourn in South Carolina he had taken every opportunity for vacation tours to the North, and made two trips to Europe. On the first of these he had several audiences with Frederick William IV. of Prussia. The king showed considerable interest in him, and confessed that he had been unjustly treated by the Prussian government. He also offered Lieber the post of inspector of prisons, with the privilege of lecturing at the universities on penology, a subject in which Lieber took much interest. If it had been a professorship in the university, the scholar exiled in his little provincial college would very likely have accepted the offer and returned to his native country. As it was, neither the conditions surrounding the proposed office nor the salary attached thereto were particularly attractive. So he went back to South Carolina and hoped for a call

from the North. Lieber's second European trip was during the revolutionary movements of 1848-'49, when among other things he attended some of the sessions of the first German Parliament in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was disappointed by the lack of practical experience and clear purpose shown by the popular politicians, and saddened by the apparent failure of the movement for German unity and greater constitutional freedom, but lived long enough to see the substantial realization of the patriotic ideals of his youth by the events of 1864 to 1871.

Lieber had not been in his new and wider field of work in New York very long when the outbreak of the Civil War called forth all his patriotic devotion in defense of the Union. By his writings, by speeches and by personal influence on his students, he did much to aid in keeping Northern public opinion up to the degree of fervor and constancy which alone could carry the war to military and political success. Especially the pamphlets he contributed to those issued by the Loyal Publication Society are among the best of the series. Nor was he spared the necessity of testifying to his devotion for the country of his choice in a more direct and personal manner. His eldest son, Oscar Montgomery, who had already begun to make a name for himself in his chosen profession of geologist, cast in his lot with the South and fell fighting as a Confederate officer near Richmond in the summer of 1862. The two younger sons, Hamilton and Guido Norman, entered the Union army, and the former lost an arm at Fort Donelson. Thus Lieber saw repeated in his own family the pathetic divisions lacerating the country.

During the war Francis Lieber also found the first official recognition of his eminence as a publicist and international lawyer by being entrusted with the duty of drawing up a codification of the rules of warfare, the famous "General Orders No. 100," of which we shall speak again in the succeeding chapter. In the remaining years of his life, the government took repeated occasion to avail itself of his learning and skill. His standing as the most eminent publicist in the United States,

and in fact as one of the first men of the world within his chosen field, was now well established. Scholars, learned bodies and governments were eager to honor him. In the full possession of his matured powers, he died after a very brief illness, on October 2, 1872, and lies buried at Woodlawn cemetery, where a bronze bust by J. Q. A. Ward marks his grave.

Our faint outline of this illustrious American's life can give but an indistinct notion of what manner of man he was. The true biography of a scholar is found in his works. Therefore the reader is asked to follow us through a final chapter containing an attempt at analyzing and describing the thought of Francis Lieber, the influence he exerted on his contemporaries, and the value his principal works still have after more than half a century has elapsed since they were published. Thereby we may not only obtain a juster notion regarding one who ranks among the glories of America, but also regarding that great ideal of culture and education which he brought to us from Germany, and which is still needed as the guide of American intellectual life. Thus only can we be saved from the dangers threatening American civilization from two directions: Either a dull and narrow specialism, which by its very dullness and narrowness fails to attain the efficiency it seeks; or a mere *dilettante* culture, excellently adapted to lending charm to the life of a leisure class, but wholly unfit to lead the American people in the constantly sharpening struggle to achieve our national destiny.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFLUENCE OF FRANCIS LIEBER ON AMERICAN LIFE

There are two different types of men who may claim greatness as leaders in the public affairs of nations. Some, spurred on by laudable ambition, use their gifts to achieve conspicuous position, and from some pinnacle where they may be seen by all, direct the movements of the people. Their voices are heard in the Senate Chamber and in the public meeting, their pens take part in discussion of immediate policies. They are active

in party councils, and the result of elections may depend on their words. They are certain of reaping the plaudits of the multitude, and their names are pronounced glibly by thousands who may be quite incapable of understanding their real worth.

Men of the other type are not so much given to addressing themselves directly to the mass of mankind, nor are they successful in gaining immediate and showy fame. They are leaders of leaders rather than leaders of the people, trainers of future statesmen, instructors of those who in turn interpret what they have learned to the millions who could not hear the teacher directly. Instead of mass meetings, such men address quiet assemblies of the thoughtful, their books are read not by the busy millions engrossed in their own affairs, but by serious students. Noisy acclamations do not fall to their lot, but instead they may enjoy the veneration of earnest disciples, or receive the gratitude of younger men whose minds they have opened to the truth. It would be difficult to say which type of man is the more important in the life of a nation; certainly both are needed. But it would not be difficult to prove that the influence of the thinker and teacher is more profound and more enduring, though it may lack in wide distribution and immediate effect.

During the nineteenth century Germany has given to the American people two men who may without extravagance be classed among the great men of the nation, and each of these types can claim one of them: The man of action was Carl Schurz; the man of thought, Francis Lieber.

In the lives of almost all whose personality much exceeds the ordinary stature of man there is what one may fairly call a tragic element. It seems as if nature meant to punish them for being gifted greatly above the rest by thwarting them in some of their fondest desires, making impossible the fullest development of some side of their genius which by themselves was contemplated with a fondness above the others. Thus it was with Lieber. We know him as the inspiring teacher of college classes; as the author of books that are still a source of instruction and moral elevation to thousands. We are apt

to think of him as leading the quiet life of the scholar, as a man of the study and the lecture room—and such he was. But from confidential utterances and passages in his numerous letters it appears that under the academic, professorial exterior there was another Lieber whose ardent soul longed for the life of action for which the opportunity never came, and for which after all he might have shown no superior aptitude.

It is essential for an understanding of Lieber's work to bear in mind this suppressed aspiration for a life quite different from that which he actually led after he came to this country and had left behind the adventurous experiences of his youth. It would be a great mistake to conceive of him as immersed in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. No man was more erudite than Lieber, not in one but several fields of knowledge, each of which is today considered rather too broad a field for one man to cultivate successfully. His published works are evidence of the unusual breadth and depth of his scholarship; but in all his writings the underlying purpose is a practical one. Not pure, but applied science is the goddess of which Lieber is the priest. To enable his students more perfectly to perform their duties as citizens, and especially as leaders of citizens, is the goal at which he aims with unswerving directness. Thus his practical bent, prevented by circumstances from finding an outlet in the work of a legislator and political leader, found an equally fruitful field in the activities of a teacher—one might say, of a preacher.

The central idea of Lieber's political thought is his unfaltering opposition to arbitrary government, whether in the hands of an absolute monarch or an irresponsible democracy. In the principles of what he called Anglican Liberty he found the perfection of political wisdom. The fundamental principles of the Common Law, the institutions and prohibitions guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, the postulates underlying the Declaration of Independence seemed to him not particular means by which certain political ends had been achieved under particular circumstances of time and place, but rather the necessary conditions without which good government was im-

possible. Without trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, the prohibition of general warrants, and all the devices evolved during the struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts, no people could be free—and liberty was to him the ultimate purpose of all governmental institutions. These necessary conditions could be maintained by one kind of government only, the representative. Whether this should take the form of a constitutional monarchy or a republic was a matter of expediency, but the representative rule was indispensable. If he hated absolutism like that of the Prussia of his youth, he hated no less a popular government without the intervention of representatives, and would have recoiled with horror from the ultra-democratic measures that are now heralded so widely as the summit of political wisdom. "I am the sworn enemy of all absolutism," he wrote in a letter to Charles Sumner on December 24, 1864, "and I trust my friends will remember of me this one thing, that I am the one who first spoke of democratic absolutism." Again and again he recurs to this central theme of his thought: That there can be no liberty, nor any guarantee of good government, unless those to whom governmental functions are entrusted are made responsible to the governed in some definite, tangible manner. (See especially *Political Ethics,* Vol. 1, page 322 *et sequ.)* To the maintenance of this proposition he brings the whole wealth of his juridical and historical knowledge, and all the powers of his reasoning skill. This staunch advocacy of the representative principle is one of the features of Lieber's work that keep him still a living force in the political thought of today, and a valuable ally of all who do not believe in the wisdom of destroying our traditional form of government in favor of an unrestrained democracy, merely in order to bring about, a few years earlier, reforms in the economic and social field, which the irresistible current of development must bring about under any circumstances.

Dr. Lieber's arguments in behalf of representative government still retain their force, although some of his views regarding the nature of the State and its relations to the indi-

vidual are beginning to have a strange sound to the present generation. Like the European Liberals of all shades in his day, and in accordance with the all but unanimous opinion of Americans until a very recent time, he attributed to the State a very narrow sphere of legitimate action. The State—which he does not always distinguish clearly from the government—is to keep the peace, to see that no citizen's rights are invaded. Beyond that it must not go, but leave every other activity to private initiative. To guarantee to each individual the widest freedom of action compatible with the equal freedom of others, and nothing more, is the essential object of good government. Within this sphere, nobody upholds more strongly the duty of submission to authority; but when government steps beyond those limits, Lieber arises as the ardent champion of individual independence. "All law is inconvenient in some cases," he says, in discussing the maxim that 'my house is my castle,' "but how august * * * * appears the law that errs on the side of individual liberty, against the public power and the united weight of government." *(Civil Liberty,* page 112.) If he was a thorough-going individualist in politics, it is not surprising that in economics he accepted almost without a critical scruple the whole doctrine of the feeble successors of Adam Smith and Ricardo. He accepts the maxim of *"laissez faire"* in its most extreme form, and free trade is a fundamental principle—almost an ethical dogma. It is characteristic of the one-sided attitude which Lieber shared with so many brilliant minds of his period that he believed "catallactics" to be the best name yet proposed for political economy, as if exchanges were the beginning and end of economic life. *(Political Ethics,* Vol. 1, page 148.)

In these extravagances Francis Lieber was the son of his time, neither rising above nor falling below the common opinion of his contemporaries. Where he develops his doctrine of responsible government through representatives, although he builds on the foundations of Locke, Montesquieu and the Federalist on one side, the English and American lawyers on the other, he presents many an original thought, many a new

aspect of the matter, and at all times places the traditional teachings in an unusually clear and convincing light. Nevertheless, it is not as an original and profound thinker that Lieber will live in the history of political science. His chief glory lies in the nobility of his ethical teaching, and on this account one must hope that the day will not soon come when our young men who aspire to be leaders in public affairs cease to read the *Political Ethics*. Here again, we must not look for profound originality. We of today will hardly be satisfied with the foundations from which Lieber derives the obligations of the citizen. They are substantially the commonplaces of the law of nature school—many of them dating back to Aristotle, more to the popularizations of Cicero, and all of them perfectly familiar to the long line of authors from Grotius and Pufendorf to the latest writer of judicial opinions in America. Here, more than anywhere else in his writings, it is clear that in Lieber the scholar and philosopher was at all times subordinate to the preacher who above everything strives to make a practical application of his wisdom and his learning. Dealing with one phase of public life after the other, he sets up with crystal clearness the ideal of conduct for the citizen, an ideal that is always noble, and yet adapted to the actual exigencies of political life. Never for a moment does he consent to a lowering of his standard, there is no truckling to expediency, no quibbling or compromising in order to lessen for easy-going citizens the arduousness of public duty. At the same time our author does not forget that he has to do with human beings and not with paragons of all the virtues. Rigorous and austere his morality may be, but nobody could honestly say that it is impossible for ordinary human beings to follow. These precepts Lieber illustrates and elucidates with hundreds of examples drawn from history, from literature, from the events of the day as chronicled in the newspapers, from his personal experiences, in so lively a manner that the reader quite forgets the abstruse character of the subject. His works are eminently readable, and that, no doubt, is one of the reasons for the influence they continue to exert.

What we have said about Lieber's work up to this time might have been characteristic of him just as well if he had been a native American of English extraction. There are, however, elements in his work and influence that were dependent directly on his German birth and the training he received in German schools and universities. When he began to teach American college classes, the curriculum of our higher schools was exceedingly narrow. It consisted of the traditional Latin and Greek and mathematics—and even of these considerably less than was required at a German gymnasium. In addition, there was usually, for the senior class, a subject called mental and moral philosophy, a farrago of logic, psychology of the kind in vogue in the English-speaking countries at that time, and a dogmatic form of ethics with a strong leaning towards theology. Modern languages and literature, as well as the natural sciences, were considered elegant accomplishments rather than parts of a well-rounded education; while to most people it would have seemed scarcely more than a clever paradox to speak of history as a serious subject for college teaching. It is due to Lieber, more than to any other single man, that history has become an integral part of the instruction received by the modern American college student. Not only did he argue, by voice and pen, for the importance of historical knowledge as a part of the mental outfit of an educated man; he himself set the example of successful teaching of history. In his day, so far as history was taught at all in school or college, it consisted mostly of mechanical memorizing of names and dates—a dreary succession of battles and royal demises, having no apparent rational connection and no possible relation to the actual life of the present. In the hands of this German, the fortunate youth who came under his influence, either in the little South Carolina college or later in the wider field of Columbia University, found history to be the record of events, ideas and sentiments that lay in the past indeed, but the living consequences of which were still felt in the institutions, the beliefs, the tasks and the dangers of the very moment in which teacher and student themselves were living. Moreover, he made them

see how history was not an isolated group of facts, forming a subject of abstruse learning all by itself, but how neither law nor politics could be rightly comprehended without constant reference to the events of the past, not only in one's own country, but in all the countries of the world. If Lieber had done nothing else for the American people than to teach them the importance of founding the understanding of public affairs on careful historical study, he would have been deserving of a civic crown from his adopted country. His teaching of history appeared so novel and unusual that many spoke of it with an admiration mingled with astonishment. He seems to have been the first in this country to introduce some of the simplest devices, without which no teacher would nowadays dream of entering his class room. His constant use of maps, and his synchronizing the events of a period by means of graphic representations created wonderment. Yet he laid no claim to originality in these methods. He simply imitated the way in which he himself had been taught at his German school. Thus one may say that in this field he was successful precisely because he was a German and had been educated according to the German manner. For, paradoxical as it may sound after what has just been stated, Lieber had no natural aptitude for historical thinking.

In his own special field of juridical and political science, the great battle between the historical and the philosophical schools was at its height at the very time when Lieber began his career of teaching in America. Its echo had hardly yet penetrated to this side of the Atlantic, and in England the prestige of Bentham, Austin and related thinkers, who were as unhistorical as possible, was unshaken. Lieber kept in touch with what went on among scholars in Europe so assiduously that he must have been well acquainted with the doctrines and methods of Savigny and his followers. Yet hardly a trace of this is found in his writings. This may be explained in part by his pronounced liberal views, for the historical school was in those days considered a main prop of the conservative or even reactionary attitude toward public affairs; but Lieber was

too open-minded and broad a scholar to permit a difference in political point of view to blind him entirely to the excellencies of a scientific method. It is more probable that his mind was better adapted to the manner of reasoning peculiar to those who in legal philosophy uphold some form of the "law of nature" theory. The historical or genetic method of explaining a legal or political institution is akin to the empirical method in the natural sciences. It begins with the facts as they are found in the historical record, as the natural sciences begin with the facts learned by observation and experiment, and thence proceeds by induction to general truths. The philosophical school proceeded in the opposite direction. It started from some general statement, assumed to be self-evident like the axioms in geometry, and went on by a series of careful analyses to the specific facts in the case. Throughout the writings of Lieber it is obvious that this is his way of thinking. Usually he begins with some general assertion regarding which you must agree with him or it is useless to follow his argument. The abundance of his historical knowledge is used merely to illustrate the results of his analytical reasoning, or at most as a test to make sure that his deductions have been correct. To his mind, if to any man's, history appeared as "philosophy teaching by examples," to use Bolingbroke's characteristic phrase. It is significant that Lieber rejected with scorn, almost one might say with disgust, the evolutionary theories of Darwin. For the doctrine of gradual development of species out of pre-existing forms is nothing more than the historical method applied to biology.

There were other things, in addition to his introducing of history as an important cultural element, in which Lieber was able to influence American life precisely because he was a German. He must be classed as one of the most important pioneers of the university idea, and there is a certain pathos in the fact that he did not live to see the abundant crop which sprang from his planting within a few years after his death. When he taught college classes, the college professor was universally looked upon simply as a superior kind of school

master. His business was to teach what was already known; hardly anybody thought of him as having the further function of adding to the received stock of knowledge. Few realized that in order to be even a good teacher he must keep himself constantly acquainted with the unending progress of the subject he is to teach. Lieber began early with his attempts to start American colleges on the road of developing into something analogous to a German university, and the whole power of his reputation and prestige was used to help the professors rise above the level of simple school masters to that of productive scholars. Thus when the trustees of Columbia had passed a rule requiring of the teaching staff an amount of class room work that would have exhausted the energies of most of them, he wrote an impressive and indignant protest that accomplished at least a partial success. The idea that a college professor is more than a human pipe-line to convey into the heads of undergraduates a certain amount of predetermined information has fairly well disappeared since the time of Lieber. Yet there are rumors that even now there is frequent shaking of heads, among boards of trustees, at the small amount of class room work professors do for their salaries.

To teach young men at college, and to write books that became classics almost as soon as they appeared, was by no means enough to occupy the marvelous energies of this gifted man. Throughout his American career he kept up an active correspondence with numerous men prominent in professional, literary and public affairs, both in this country and in Europe. We have seen how he had been fortunate enough to attract the notice and gain the good will of a number of important men while he was still in Germany. Foremost of these was Niebuhr, the historian. At Boston, his first American home, he soon was on friendly terms with a number of leading spirits, especially with Charles Sumner, then a young lawyer just beginning to attract attention, and George S. Hillard, the politician and writer. We have also seen how the editorship of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* naturally brought him into con-

tact with a large number of the best minds of the country, and with not a few of these acquaintance ripened into friendship. Later, when his reputation was established, he had, of course, no difficulty in meeting almost everybody worth knowing. The intellectual isolation which he felt very keenly during his long residence in South Carolina probably spurred him to cultivate the art of correspondence, and the result must have been altogether delightful to the recipients of his letters. For even in the cold and impersonal form of correspondence published after his death, they afford most fascinating reading. One would not be surprised if he heard it said that of all Lieber's works his letters were the most interesting. They cover every sort of subject that will lie near to the heart of a cultivated man whose chief interest is in public affairs. Often they are in response to some request for an opinion on questions regarding which his correspondent had an important voice, notably so in the case of the letters to Sumner. Unfortunately, the excessive vanity of the abolitionist senator caused an interruption in the intercourse of the two men which lasted a number of years, and during this time Mr. Sumner had the lack of generosity to charge Lieber with having become lukewarm in his opposition to slavery, apparently on no better ground than that he did not undermine his position in South Carolina by parading his views. Few things in his career seem to have hurt him so much as this blow from the hand of a friend.

The list of Professor Lieber's correspondents is, one might almost say, awe-inspiring. To mention but a few of them: Joseph Bonaparte (then living in exile at Bordentown, N. J.), Henry Clay, W. H. Prescott, Rufus Choate, Julia Ward Howe, Fanny Appleton, Dr. S. G. Howe, George Ticknor, Wade Hampton, Samuel Tyler, Judge Story, Judge Thayer, Gen. Halleck, Andrew D. White, Abraham Garfield, Hamilton Fish; and of Europeans, Mittermaier, Bluntschli, Holtzendorff, Laveleye. Certainly a man who corresponded on friendly terms with men like these regarding matters of public concern must have exercised a vast influence even if he had published

nothing and had not sent many successive classes of students into the world, imbued with his ideas and favorably inclined towards his point of view regarding public affairs.

In addition to his large works on Civil Liberty and Political Ethics, and the small but meaty treatise on Legal Hermeneutics, Lieber was the author of numerous fugitive papers, articles, lectures and addresses, dealing with all manner of subjects from the proper treatment of criminals to the education of deaf-mutes. In this way, his voice was heard by the public on a good many questions of the day, but no doubt his craving for active participation in public life found such journalistic work but a poor substitute for real participation in the affairs of the government. Yet strange to say, when during his residence in New York he could have found entrance into political life, he refused to do so. It appears that once he was elected a delegate to the state convention, but allowed an alternate to take his seat, while he discussed political principles with Andrew D. White. However, during the last period of his life he had the satisfaction of finding his services required by the government in various capacities. Thus he acted as umpire for the settlement of claims growing out of the war with Mexico. And during the Civil War he was engaged to draw up the celebrated "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," which as "General Orders No. 100" is still in force.

More people probably know Francis Lieber as the author of this code than have ever heard his name in connection with his other works. The little book, which in its latest edition has only 45 duodecimo pages, has grown into one of the classics of the literature of international law. It has become the basis of similar codes in several foreign countries and profoundly influenced the theory and practice of the subject throughout the civilized world. The rules laid down therein were not, of course, the original inventions of Dr. Lieber. They were practically all of them presumed to have been in force for many years as principles of civilized warfare; but before they were arranged, clarified and stated in lucid order by the logical

mind of the Columbia professor, their precise meaning was often lost sight of in the confusion of mere traditional knowledge. What makes this code so valuable is that the author combined with the most sincere devotion to humanitarian ideals a vivid sense of the realities of warfare. He did not forget that the end of war is peace, and that this end is best achieved by doing the greatest possible injury to the enemy. Nothing is more cruel than a war protracted to unnecessary length because the combatants are unable or unwilling to strike hard. Therefore this code authorizes the harshest measures if they seem calculated to bring the end nearer, while it condemns in unmistakable terms every act of mere brutality, cruelty, treachery or individual greed.

This great code was not the only service Lieber rendered to the Union during the dark days of the Civil War. We need not speak again of the tragic dismemberment of his family—with one son wounded in the Union army, and another dying in the Confederate service; but we must mention the pamphlets he contributed to the issues of the Loyal Publication Society which did so much to keep alive the patriotism of the North. One of these pamphlets was in German *(Einheit und Freiheit,* No. 19, June, 1863), and addressed, of course, to his German-American fellow citizens.

This was one of the comparatively few instances in which Lieber took an active interest in the German-American life of the United States. Another conspicuous case is the delivery of an address at the unveiling of the Humboldt monument in New York, on September 14, 1869. Some Germans, during his life and since his death, have blamed him for standing apart from German activities in this country. The criticism does not seem to me well founded. Nobody who knows the deep emotional interest with which Lieber followed the German struggle for unity, an interest that often finds pathetic expression in his letters, can doubt that his love for the Fatherland and its people never grew less than it was on the day when, a mere boy, he shed his blood for it during the campaign of Waterloo. But in this country, both in Boston and South Carolina, he dwelt

far away from the centers of German-American life. When finally he removed to New York, he was already well advanced in years, with a wide circle of friends of whom few were in touch with the German element. He could hardly feel much inclination to add largely to this circle; and moreover, he was overwhelmed with multifarious labors. It is not to be wondered at, under such circumstances, that he left to others participation in specifically German-American activities.

There is one more phase of Lieber's work which must not be left without mention. During the later years of his life, as has already been suggested, he became recognized widely as an authority in international law. His interest in this subject led to extensive correspondence especially with Bluntschli and Laveleye, and finally to the founding of the Institute of International Law, which is still flourishing and by its congresses and publications has exerted a large influence on the recent development of this science. His reputation in this field also made him a particularly valuable spokesman of the German-Americans and others, who during the Franco-German war protested indignantly against the policy of the Grant administration in selling arms to the French under the thin disguise of dealing with private firms.

One will not easily find the equal of Francis Lieber's rich and many-sided life among the eminent men of this or other countries. But his activities were not of the sort that attract the attention of the multitudes engaged in their own affairs. It is not apparent that Lieber ever regretted the lack of noisy fame such as attends the popular orator and the man conspicuous in election campaigns or in elective bodies. It is true, however, that neither during his life nor after his death to the present time did he ever attain the popular recognition bestowed upon much smaller men, and especially the only German-American worthy to have his name coupled with his own—Carl Schurz. The statesman's monument stands on the terrace not far from the noble institution of learning to which the publicist gave the years of his ripest manhood. Would it not

be a fitting thing for Americans, and especially those of German blood, to place beside the statue of Schurz the statue of Francis Lieber?

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

An exhaustive bibliography of Lieber's numerous and widely scattered writings does not seem to be in existence. A large collection of his manuscripts is in the possession of Johns-Hopkins University, and by no means everything worth publishing has been printed. A fairly complete list of his pubished works is appended to the collection of his miscellaneous writings. It will not be attempted in this place to supplement or repeat this list, but it may seem expedient to mention the most accessible works. Many of the smaller publications are now out of print; but not a few of them are found published in the:

Miscellaneous Writings; Reminiscences, Addresses and Essays. Edited by Daniel C. Gilman, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1881.

Other easily accessible works are:

Legal and Political Hermeneutics; or Principles of Interpretation and Construction in Law and Politics. Appeared first in the American Jurist for 1839; repeatedly republished, last edition by Little Brown & Co., Boston.

Manual of Political Ethics, designed chiefly for the use of Colleges and Students at Law. First edition 1838; second edition, with notes by Theodore D. Woolsey, 1874; third edition, with preface by President Butler of Columbia University, 1911. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

On Civil Liberty and Self-Government. First edition 1853; 2nd edition, enlarged and corrected, 1859; 3rd edition, prepared by Theodore D. Woolsey, 1874; 4th edition, with introduction by D. C. Gilman, 1901, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field. Originally issued as General Orders No. 100 by the Adjutant General's Office, and frequently re-issued

as a public document. Government Printing Office, Washington.

The life of Lieber was written in German by F. W. Holls under the title:

Franz Lieber, Sein Leben und seine Werke. E. Steiger & Co., New York. Now out of print.

A selection from his letters, together with an account of his life is found in:

Perry, Thomas Sergeant. *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber.* James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1882.

Many of the briefer writings have been translated into German (some also into other languages, such as French and Spanish); conversely, many of his German writings were subsequently published in English versions, prepared either by himself or others. Articles dealing with Lieber and his works are scattered in considerable numbers through the legal and political science periodicals, both of this country and Europe.

Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Bewegung.

Zwei vergessene Reden zur Feier des „Deutschen Tages".

Von Karl Schurz und Franz Sigel.

Vorbemerkung.

Nur wenigen Lesern des Jahrbuchs dürfte es bekannt sein, daß unter den Männern, die in der Frühzeit der deutschen Bewegung in Amerika für die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" eintraten und durch ihre Reden zur Weckung des geschichtlichen Bewußtseins und des Einheitsgefühles unter den Deutsch-Amerikanern beitrugen, auch Karl Schurz und Franz Sigel waren. Die beiden Reden, die ich durch ihren Abbdruck an dieser Stelle der Vergessenheit entreißen möchte, wurden im Jahre 1891 gehalten, d. h. zu einer Zeit, wo sich die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" erst allmählich über das Land hin die Bahn brach. Das Verdienst die erste Feier des Tages in New York veranstaltet zu haben, gebührt dem „Deutschen Historischen Verein", einer Gesellschaft zur Förderung des Studiums deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichte, die ich im Jahre 1890 in Gemeinschaft mit einer Anzahl hervorragender Deutschen in New York ins Leben rief. Zu den Begründern des Vereins gehörten Männer wie Dr. Friedrich Hoffmann, F. W. Holls, Dr. Hans Kudlich, Ernst Lemcke, Paul Lichtenstein, Gustav Pollak, Gustav H. Schwab und Franz Sigel. Die Vorträge, die der Verein veranstaltete und die ich damals in dem von mir herausgegebenen „Belletristischen Journal" veröffentlichte, würden, falls sie in einen Band vereinigt wären, noch heute Zeugnis ablegen von dem frischen geistigen Leben und der deutschen Gesinnung, die den Verein beseelte. Und schon damals schwebte mir der Gedanke vor, in allen größeren Städten der Vereinigten Staaten ähnliche Vereine zu schaffen, die unter einander Fühlung haben sollten, um auf diese Weise dem Geistesleben des gesammten amerikanischen Deutschtums einen gemeinsamen Inhalt und gemeinsame Strebensziele zu geben.

Die Feier des „Deutschen Tages", bei der Karl Schurz die nachstehende Festrede hielt, fand am Sonntag, 4. Oktober 1891 in Carnegie Hall statt. Das „Belletristische Journal" vom 7. October brachte darüber folgenden Bericht:

„Hätte der „Deutsche historische Verein" während der kurzen Zeit seines Bestehens weiter auch nichts geleistet, als daß er die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" in New York anregte und mit der bereitwilligen Hülfe unserer großen Gesangvereine verwirklichte, dann dürfte er mit seinem Wirken wohl zufrieden sein. Denn aller scheinbaren Gleichgiltigkeit des Publikums zum Trotz war die Feier von einem Erfolge begleitet, der den Veranstaltern des Festes sowohl wie dem Deutschtum unserer Stadt zur hohen Ehre gereicht.

„In der prächtigen neuen Musikhalle hatte sich am vergangenen Sonntag Nachmittag ein ebenso gewähltes wie zahlreiches Publikum eingefunden, um der Wiedergabe des würdigen, eindrucksvollen Programmes mit steigendem Enthusiasmus zu lauschen. Die ausgezeichnete Rede des Herrn Carl Schurz darf wohl als Glanzpunkt der erhebenden Feier bezeichnet werden. Von ähnlicher Bedeutung war die englische Ansprache des Herrn Parke Godwin, der als Vertreter des gebildeten Amerikanertums in feurigen Worten Zeugnis davon ablegte, was seine engeren Landsleute und mit ihnen das ganze Land der deutschen Einwanderung und ihrem Geiste schuldet. Beide Redner wurden von dem Festpräsidenten, Herrn W. Steinway mit passenden Worten eingeführt, wobei dieser noch besonders darauf hinwies, daß gerade 101 Jahre nach der Landung der ersten deutschen Einwanderer in Pennsylvanien die Deutsche Gesellschaft von New York unter der Präsidentschaft von General Steuben ins Leben trat.

„Nicht weniger eindrucksvoll wie der Redeakt war der musikalische Teil der Feier, den die Gesangvereine „Liederkranz", „Arion" und „Beethoven Männerchor" unter ihren ausgezeichneten Dirigenten H. Zöllner, Johannes Werschinger und A. Mees mit liebenswürdiger Zuvorkommenheit und großer Hingebung übernommen hatten. Die einzelnen Chöre, „Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre" und „Die Muttersprache", (Solo gesungen von Herrn F. Remmertz) wurden mit Begeisterung

und tadelloser Ausführung wiedergegeben. Besonderer Erwähnung aber bedarf noch die gedankentiefe und formschöne Festcomposition „Preis der deutschen Musik" von H. Zöllner, welche die herrliche Feier zum Abschluß brachte."

Die Rede von Karl Schurz wird den Häuptlingen des wiedererwachten Knownothingtums von heute, den giftigen Hetzern und Deuschenhassern vom Schlage Roosevelts und Wilsons, wenig Freude machen. Auch werden Renegaten wie O. G. Villard (Hilgard), der Herausgeber der New Yorker „Evening Post", in Zukunft umsonst den Schatten von Karl Schurz beschwören, um in dessen Schutze ihre deutschen Mitbürger als Landesverräter zu denunzieren, weil diese sich weigerten, einer absichtlich irregeleiteten öffentlichen Meinung zu folgen und dem Lande ihrer Väter und Mütter zu fluchen. Die Rede widerlegt nicht nur die kürzlich so oft gehörte Behauptung, Schurz habe sein Deutschtum beiseite geworfen und sei zum bindestrichlosen, d. h. charakter- und überzeugungslosen „Amerikaner" nach dem Herzen jener Demagogen geworden, sondern sie gibt geradezu glänzendes Zeugnis ab für sein deutsch-amerikanisches Selbstgefühl, seine Liebe zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur und seinen Stolz auf die geschichtlichen Leistungen seiner deutsch-amerikanischen Stammesgenossen, deren amerikanischer Patriotismus sich nach ihm nicht am wenigsten darin zeigte, daß sie „eine besonders starke Stütze waren für jede große Idee und für die nationale Ehre und ein besonders starker Widerstand gegen jeden gefährlichen Wahn der Zeit." Der gefährlichste Wahn unserer heutigen Zeit aber ist jener hysterische Patriotismus, der sich als neuen Amerikanismus gibt, im Grunde aber nur eine schlecht verkappte Parteinahme für England und den Munitionsschacher bedeutet. Wer den glänzenden Kampf kennt, den Schurz gegen den ehrlosen Waffenhandel der amerikanischen Regierung zur Zeit des deutsch-französischen Krieges führte, der weiß, wie er sich gegen den neuen Amerikanismus von heute stellen würde.

Auch aus der Rede von Franz Sigel klingt der Stolz auf sein Deutschamerikanertum und die Freude über die geschichtlichen Leistungen seiner Landsleute, die dieses Land zu unserem Lande und sein Interesse zu unserem Interesse gemacht haben.

Auch er mahnt seine Volksgenossen festzuhalten an ihrem eigenen Wesen und ihrer deutschen Kultur, dabei aber nie zu vergessen, daß sie „amerikanische Bürger sind, d. h. in rein politischer Beziehung nichts anderes sein können und sein müssen als Amerikaner."

Bedenken wir, daß Franz Sigel sowohl wie Karl Schurz als politische Flüchtlinge und Märtyrer des deutschen Einheitsgedankens, die das Vaterland in unverzeihlicher Verblendung von sich gestoßen hatte, nach Amerika kamen, dann müssen wir ihr mannhaftes Eintreten für die Erhaltung deutscher Kultur und deutschen Volkstums in diesem Lande ihnen um so höher anschlagen. Bedenken wir dann ferner, daß beide Männer mit nahezu 200,000 ihrer Volksgenossen ihre Dankbarkeit und patriotische Hingabe an die neue Heimat auf den Schlachtfeldern des Bürgerkrieges bezeugten, dann dürfen wir uns, dem Thersites von Oyster Bay und allen Deutschenhassern zum Trotz, in aller Zukunft mit Stolz als Deutsch-Amerikaner bekennen.

Julius Goebel.

* * *

I.

Festrede zum Deutschen Tag in New York,

gehalten am 4. Oktober 1891 in Carnegie Hall.

Von Karl Schurz.

Landsleute und Freunde! Diese Feier ist dem Andenken an jenen Oktobertag des Jahres 1683 geweiht, welcher unserem neuen Vaterlande in dem Schiffe „Concord" die erste deutsche Ansiedlung brachte, und in weiterem Sinne der Ehre des deutschen Namens in Amerika überhaupt. Leider kann ich von dem großen Thema hier nur wenige Punkte berühren, und auch diese wenigen nur flüchtig.

Was immer für üble Eigenschaften man dem deutschen Nationalcharakter zuschreiben mag, — ein übermäßiges, gespreiztes Selbstgefühl gehört dazu nicht. Viel eher dürfte man sagen, daß

der Deutsche es oft an dem berechtigten Selbstgefühl hat fehlen lassen. Ja, selbst die Frage, ob es dem deutschgeborenen Bürger dieser Republik wohl gezieme, an seinen Ursprung zu denken, und sich unter Anderem an die Verdienste seiner Stammesgenossen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart rühmend zu erinnern, wird zumeist in der deutschen Zunge zweifelnd oder gar verneinend beantwortet. Bescheidenheit ist eine Tugend, aber man soll sie nicht übertreiben. Der Mensch gilt oft der Welt nur das, was er sich selbst gilt. Der Irländer in Amerika feiert sich selbst an seinem St. Patrickstag; der Engländer an seinem St. George's-Feste; der Schotte an seinem St. Andrew's-Feste; der Holländer an seinem St. Nicholas-Fest; und keiner dieser Bestandtheile des großen amerikanischen Volkes stellt bei solcher Gelegenheit das Licht seiner Verdienste um die Welt im Allgemeinen und um dieses Land im Besonderen unter einen Scheffel. Ich tadle sie darum nicht; sie können es tun, unbeschadet ihres amerikanischen Bürgergeistes und ihrer Bürgerpflicht.

Warum nicht auch wir? Einen Schutzpatron wie St. Patrick, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas haben wir allerdings nicht, denn der deutsche Michel gilt nicht mehr. *Aber doch dürfen wir uns rühmen, dem herrlichen Volk entsprungen zu sein, das in jahrhundertelanger Zerrissenheit und Erniedrigung dennoch ein Riese blieb, und dessen Siegesdenkmäler in der Geschichte der Welt auf den größten Schlachtfeldern der Waffen wie des Gedankens stehen.* Wir dürfen in hohen Ehren halten das Andenken jener frommen und mutigen Brüder dieses Volkes, die vor mehr als zweihundert Jahren sich dem auf dem alten Vaterlande lastenden Druck entzogen, in der Wildnis der neuen Welt Gewissensfreiheit und ein menschenwürdiges Dasein suchten und mit rüstigem Schaffen und mannhaftem, freiheitsliebenden Bürgersinn die Grundsteine neuer, großer Gemeinwesen legen halfen. Wir dürfen uns freuen jener Nachkommenschaft, die Franz Daniel Pastorius, der biedere Führer jenes ersten Häufleins deutscher Einwanderer, so prophetisch begrüßte, jener Hunderte und Tausende von Deutschen, die, aus allen deutschen

Gauen hervorströmend, jenem kleinen Häuflein im Laufe der Zeit nach dieser Küste gefolgt sind und an der Verwandlung der Wildnis in ein reichblühendes, mit wimmelnden Städten besätes Land und an dem Ausbau ärmlicher Ansiedlungen in der mächtigsten Republik der Welt tatkräftig mitgearbeitet haben. Und mit Stolz dürfen wir sagen, daß in dieser Republik die Deutschen und ihre Nachkommen jeglicher Zeit zu ihren treuesten und nützlichsten Bürgern zählten.

Können die Deutschen in Amerika von den Eingeborenen diese Anerkennung beanspruchen? Man blicke auf die Geschichte der deutschen Eingewanderten von dem Tage der Landung jener frommen Crefelder vor mehr als zweihundert Jahren bis auf diese Stunde. Was findet man? Ein ruhiges, ordnungsliebendes, gesittetes, heiteres Völkchen, emsig und ersprießlich wirkend auf allen Gebieten der menschlichen Tätigkeit, — als Ackerbauer, Handwerker, Kaufleute, Ingenieure, Lehrer, Geistliche, Aerzte, Rechtsgelehrte, Schriftsteller, Künstler. Rüstig sehen wir sie mitschaffen an der Entwicklung des nationalen Wohlstandes und der fortschreitenden Civilisation. Keine andere Klasse der Bevölkerung hat im Verhältnis zu ihrer Zahl und ihren Gelegenheiten dazu mehr solide, fruchtbare Arbeit beigetragen. In der Politik finden wir sie gleich den andern Bestandteilen des Volks die Fragen des öffentlichen Wohles ruhig bedenken und beraten und an allen Bewegungen teilnehmen, nicht in geschlossener Masse, sondern Jeder nach seinem Sinne, nicht alle weise, sondern wie bei allen Andern im demokratischen Gemeinwesen Weisheit und Irrtum mischend. Aber nicht selten ist es geschehen, daß man in den Deutschen eine besonders starke Stütze fand für eine große Idee und für die nationale Ehre und einen besonders starken Widerstand gegen einen gefährlichen Wahn der Zeit. Rief das neue Vaterland seine Söhne zu den Waffen, so strömten die Deutschen in hellen Haufen mit patriotischer Bereitwilligkeit unter die Fahne. Im Unabhängigkeitskampfe bildeten sie einen beträchtlichen Teil des Freiheitsheeres. Aus Deutschen rekrutirte Washington seine Leibgarde.

Mühlenberg begeisterte seine fromme Gemeinde, indem er, das Predigergewand abwerfend, sich ihr im Soldatenrock zeigte. Steuben schuf die regellosen Freiwilligenhaufen in wohlgeschulte Bataillone um. Herkheimer vergoß sein Blut bei Oriskany inmitten seiner tapferen Bauernschar und brachte, nach Washington's Zeugnis, „den ersten Umschwung in die traurige Führung des nördlichen Feldzugs". DeKalb starb einen rühmlichen Heldentod an der Spitze seiner Schar beim vierten Sturmangriff bei Camden. Im Kriege von 1812 und dem gegen Mexiko waren die Reihen voller Deutschen. Als im Jahre 1861 der südliche Aufstand das Leben der Republik bedrohte, war es der rasch entschlossene Patriotismus der Deutschen, der den Staat Missouri der Union rettete, und in den 22 nördlichen Staaten scharten sich mehr als 186,000 deutschgeborne Bürger, eine erstaunliche Proportion ihrer Gesamtzahl, um das Sternenbanner, um ihr neues Vaterland mit ihrem Leben zu beschützen. Es gibt kein amerikanisches Schlachtfeld, das nicht reichlich, überreichlich mit deutschem Blut getränkt ist. So hat der Deutsche dem neuen Vaterlande seine Treue bewahrt.

Doch ist dies nicht alles. Ich will hier nicht betonen, was häufig von einsichtsvollen Amerikanern hervorgehoben worden ist,. daß die Gründlichkeit des deutschen Denkens und Forschens auf die Politik sowohl wie das wissenschaftliche Streben hier zu Lande in manchen Richtungen und in hohem Grade klärend und fördernd eingewirkt hat, das mag nicht allgemein und gern zugestanden werden; für wahr halte ich es allerdings. Aber unleugbar ist es, daß weit mehr als ein anderer Bestandteil unserer Bevölkerung die Deutschen unserm neuen Vaterlande den unschätzbaren Dienst geleistet haben, die Liebe und den Genuß der Kunst anzuregen und zu pflegen und der Hast und dem Ernst des amerikanischen Lebens das Licht und die Wärme eines harmlosen Frohsinns beizumischen. Daß jetzt in Dorf und Stadt über das Summen und Brausen des Geschäftstreibens hinaus das fröhliche Lied und die herzerhebende Harmonie erklingt, an denen Tausende und Millionen sich ergötzen, und daß die Rast von der Arbeit jetzt mehr und mehr in allen Klassen unseres Volkes von dem Sonnenschein eines heiteren Lebensgenusses durchleuchtet wird, das ist eine dem Volke erwiesene

Wohltat, die mehr als ein anderer Stamm der Deutsche gebracht hat. Nicht nur wir, sondern jetzt auch vielleicht eine Mehrzahl von denen, deren widerstrebendes Vorurteil erst überwunden werden mußte, freuen sich dieser Bekehrung zum Frohsinn.

Wir hören nicht selten die Klage, daß trotz der Verdienste, die sie sich um das Land erworben haben, die Deutschen in Amerika von den Eingeborenen nicht immer die Achtung genießen, die ihnen gebührt. Gestehen wir nun, um gerecht zu sein, Eines mit Bereitwilligkeit zu: der eingeborene Amerikaner ist, im Ganzen genommen, der Einwanderung mit außerordentlicher Liberalität begegnet. Es gibt wohl keine Nation in der Welt, welche eine so gewaltige Masse von außen einströmender Bevölkerungselemente mit solcher Freigebigkeit in der Gewährung bürgerlicher und politischer Rechte würde empfangen haben. Daß das Land dabei seine Rechnung gefunden hat, ist wahr, ändert aber an der Tatsache nichts. Ebenso wahr ist es, daß von Zeit zu Zeit den Eingeborenen vor der massenhaften Anhäufung der Einwanderung bange wird, und daß sich dann dagegen ein gewisses Widerstreben zeigt. Aber diese Erregungen sind nicht ohne Unterscheidung und bisher nur vorübergehend gewesen, und auch sie ändern die allgemeine Tatsache nicht. Ich bin's gewiß, Sie alle stimmen mit mir überein, wenn ich sage, daß wir einer gastlichen Großherzigkeit gegenüberstehen, welcher kein billig denkender Mann seine dankbare Anerkennung versagen wird.

In der Tat leidet ein großer Teil der eingewanderten Deutschen unter einem ernstlichen Nachteil und einer großen Zurücksetzung durch den Unterschied der Sprache. Das ist nicht ganz unnatürlich. Dem gewöhnlichen Menschen ist das leicht verdächtig, oder er achtet das nicht recht, was er nicht versteht. Es gibt nicht wenig Eingeborene, die da aufrichtig glauben, daß die eingewanderten Deutschen sich nur sehr langsam oder gar nicht in das amerikanische Wesen einleben, weil sie nicht mit Leichtigkeit und unverzüglich die deutsche Sprache mit dem Englischen vertauschen. Ja, eben jetzt hören wir sonst ganz vernünftige Leute mit seltsamer Heftigkeit die Behauptung äußern, daß der kein guter amerikanischer Bürger sein könnte, dem das Englische nicht geläufig ist und der das Deutsche als Umgangssprache spricht. Ist das begründet?

Man wird mir persönlich, wie ich glaube, nicht vorwerfen können, daß ich dem Erlernen der englischen Sprache abhold sei, oder daß ich die Kenntnis des Englischen hier zu Lande nicht für wichtig halte. Ich habe im Gegenteil nicht allein selbst das Englische redlich zu lernen versucht, sondern auch während meines langen öffentlichen Lebens jede Gelegenheit benutzt, um meine Landsleute zum möglichst schnellen und gründlichen Erlernen des Englischen ernstlich zu ermahnen. Und was ich so oft getan, das wiederhole ich hier. Die englische Landessprache zu lernen ist dem Deutsch-Amerikaner eine Pflicht, durch deren Erfüllung er nicht allein seinem eigenen Interesse dienen, sondern auch seine Nützlichkeit für das Gemeinwesen bedeutend erhöhen wird.

Mit Bedauern gestehe ich die Tatsache zu, daß einer großen Zahl unserer Landsleute, die im vorgerückten Alter hier angekommen sind, und vielen, die ihr Brot mit harter Arbeit zu verdienen haben, die Erfüllung dieser Pflicht unmöglich ist. *Aber ich leugne entschieden, daß der Eingewanderte, der nicht die Sprache des Landes spricht, deshalb kein guter amerikanischer Bürger und Patriot sein könne.* Die Geschichte der deutschgeborenen Bevölkerung dieses Landes liefert den schlagenden Beweis des Gegenteils. Tausende der Deutschen, die auf den Schlachtfeldern der Republik ihr Blut einsetzten, — nicht Abenteurer, die im Dienst einer fremden Sache nur Sold und Beförderung suchten, sondern solide, angesehene Bürger und Bauern, die in heiligem Eifer für ihr neues Vaterland die Waffen ergriffen, — Tausende von diesen verstanden von der englischen Sprache wenig mehr als das Kommando, das sie in den Todeskampf führte. War darum ihre patriotische Begeisterung weniger opferwillig und ihr amerikanischer Bürgersinn weniger echt? Tausende von andern Deutschen, tüchtige, intelligente Leute, denen ihres Alters oder ungünstiger Umstände wegen die Erlernung der Landessprache unerreichbar war, haben sich aus deutschen Schriften und Reden die Kenntnisse unserer öffentlichen Angelegenheiten zu erwerben gewußt, deren sie zu einer verständigen und ersprießlichen Ausübung ihrer politischen Rechte und Pflichten bedurften. Waren sie darum weniger loyale, pflichttreue, der Republik ergebene Bürger?

Wie töricht sind nur jene, die in ihrem hysterischen Eifer gegen Alles, was ihnen fremdartig scheint, verlangen, daß es in diesem Lande keine deutsche Presse, keine Veröffentlichungen in einer anderen als der Landessprache mehr geben solle. Wird man die der Landessprache unkundigen Einwanderer zu wohlunterrichteten Bürgern erziehen, wenn man ihnen die einzige Schule schließt, in der sie lernen können? Wird man sie sehen machen, wenn man ihnen ihr einziges Licht auslöscht?

Ein solches Verlangen ist nicht Patriotismus mehr; es ist Blindheit gegen die wahren Interessen des Landes. Kein vernünftiger Amerikaner wird leugnen, daß die deutsche Presse für die deutschen Einwanderer, die nicht Englisch verstehen und es auch beim besten Willen nicht mehr lernen können, ein absolutes Bedürfnis ist. Und um die deutsche Presse lebensfähig und auf der Höhe ihres Berufs zu erhalten, ist die Pflege der deutschen Sprache ebenso notwendig.

Die ängstlichen Gemüter irren sich sehr, die da in der Erhaltung und Pflege der deutschen Sprache neben der englischen eine gefährliche Conspiration gegen amerikanische Ideen und Institutionen sehen. Ich glaube den Geist, der in der deutschredenden Bevölkerung dieses Landes lebt, gründlich zu kennen; und ich zaudere nicht, zu erklären, daß meiner aufrichtigen Überzeugung nach die Pflege der deutschen Sprache weder der Kenntnis amerikanischer Institutionen und Verhältnise, noch der Entwicklung eines gesunden amerikanischen Nationalgefühls unter der deutschen Bevölkerung im Wege steht. Im Gegenteil, sie dient dazu, um Beides zu fördern. Ebensowenig glaube ich, daß der Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache unter unsern Landsleuten das Erlernen des Englischen wesentlich und dauernd beeinträchtigt. Was die Zukunft betrifft, so kommt es ja hauptsächlich auf den Nachwuchs an; und sie alle wissen, daß es bei den Kindern deutscher Eltern hier zu Lande weit schwerer ist, die deutsche Sprache zu

erhalten, als ihnen die englische beizubringen. Die zweite Generation spricht das Deutsche gewöhnlich schon schlecht; die dritte gar nicht mehr. Ich weiß sehr wohl, daß sich in einem Teile von Pennsylvanien eine Abart von Deutsch als Umgangssprache mehrere Geschlechter hindurch erhalten hat. Aber das war vor der Zeit der Eisenbahnen, als große zusammensitzende Massen von Deutschen mit neueren Teilen der Bevölkerung wenig Berührung hatten. Und auch da wuchsen gute Bürger und treue amerikanische Patrioten. Auch weiß ich, daß noch jetzt hier und dort unter ähnlichen Umständen sich das Deutsche von den Eltern auf die Kinder fortpflanzt und das Englische nur sehr schwer Platz greift. Aber diese Fälle werden immer seltener und geringer. Gewiß ist, daß bei dem stets lebhafter und allgemeiner werdenden Verkehr zwischen allen Bestandteilen der Nation das Englische unter den Nachkommen deutscher Eltern mit immer wachsender Schnelligkeit das Deutsche als Umgangssprache verdrängt.

In der Tat wirft sich die Frage auf, ob es wünschenswert sei, daß die Nachkommen deutschgeborener Bürger in Amerika neben dem Englischen gar kein Deutsch mehr verstünden. *Nicht als Deutscher, sondern vom amerikanischen Standpunkte aus, antworte ich entschieden: Nein. Es hat noch Niemandem, auch keinem Amerikaner, an seinem Charakter, noch an seiner geistigen Entwicklung, noch an seinen politischen Grundsätzen geschadet, Deutsch zu verstehen.* Je mehr Sprachen ein Mensch liest und spricht, um so weiter werden seine Gesichtspunkte, und um so mehr ist er im Stande, den Gehalt seines Lebens zu bereichern. Es gibt jetzt eine große Menge von jungen Amerikanern und Amerikanerinnen, die Deutsch lernen. In den gebildeten Kreisen der amerikanischen Gesellschaft ist es zu einer Art Mode geworden. Warum? Weil es den Lernenden ungewöhnlich reiche Schätze der Literatur, der Wissenschaft, des Gedankens aufschließt. *Während nun diese Tausende von Anglo-Amerikanern bestrebt sind, die Kenntnis des Deutschen sich mühsam zu gewinnen, würde es weise sein, wenn andere Tausende, denen die Erwerbung dieser Kenntnis durch die Gewohnheit des Vaterhauses*

wesentlich erleichtert wird, dieselbe als unnütz oder gar unpatriotisch wegwerfen sollten?

Die Frage des Unterrichts im Deutschen neben dem Englischen in den öffentlichen Schulen ist vielfach und in verschiedenem Sinne erörtert worden. Meines Erachtens ist diese Frage nicht, ob das Erlernen des Deutschen neben dem Englischen nützlich und wünschenswert sei. Gewiß ist es das. Die Frage ist vielmehr, ob und wie das Deutsche in den öffentlichen Schulen so gelehrt werden kann, daß den Schülern wirklich eine ordentliche Kenntnis des deutschen Sprachunterrichts wird, ohne andere Unterrichtsgegenstände von erster Notwendigkeit zu verdrängen. Kann es das, so geschehe es ja, denn es wird der aufwachsenden Generation eine hohe Wohltat sein. Kann es das aber nicht, so sollte man auf einen bloßen nutzlosen Schein-Unterricht keine Zeit und Kraft verschwenden. Auf alle Fälle aber sorgen wir deutschgeborenen Amerikaner dafür, daß unsere Kinder, während sie das Englische als ihre Landessprache gründlich erlernen, das Deutsche nicht verlieren. Wir werden sie dadurch nicht zu schlechteren, wohl aber zu gebildeteren Amerikanern machen.

Wir würden dem wahren Sinn dieser Feier wenig gerecht werden, wollten wir uns nur in dem Glanze des alten Vaterlandes sonnen und der Tugenden und Verdienste unserer Vorgänger rühmen. Daß wir von diesen Vorgängern einen guten Namen geerbt haben, ist schön. Wichtiger aber ist es, daß wir unseren Nachkommen einen guten Namen hinterlassen. Wer Achtung vor der Welt mit Recht fordern will, muß sie sich selbst verdienen. An einem Erinnerungsfest wie diesem ziemt es sich uns doppelt, der gegenwärtigen Pflichten und Aufgaben uns klar bewußt zu sein.

Gewiß darf und soll uns das alte Vaterland teuer bleiben, wenn wir auch von ihm geschieden sind. Ich habe oft gesagt und wiederhole es gern: Wer die Mutter vergißt, der wird auch die junge Braut nicht wahrhaft lieben. Aber vergessen wir auch nie, daß dieser jüngeren Braut, der amerikanischen Republik, der wir als Bürger angetraut sind, un-

sere Pflicht und Treue gehört. Freilich kann mit vollem Rechte gesagt werden, daß die Deutsch-Amerikaner, während sie unter einer andern Regierungsform geboren und erzogen worden, nie daran gedacht haben, den Einfluß, den sie hier besitzen mögen, zu Gunsten fremder Interessen auszubeuten, die Institutionen dieses Landes in fremder Richtung umzumodeln, diese Republik in die Händel der alten Welt selbst zu Gunsten ihres Geburtslandes zu verwickeln, oder irgendwo den Frieden und die Rechtstellung des amerikanischen Volkes zu kompromittieren. In diesen Dingen haben sie stets zu den treuesten der Amerikaner gehört. Aber damit ist's nicht genug.

Die amerikanische Nation ist das große Sammelvolk des neuen Zeitalters, das in seinen Hauptbestandteilen nicht England allein zum Mutterland hat, sondern alle zivilisierten Länder der Welt. Hier ist der Angelsachse, der größte Kolonist aller Zeiten als erster Führer, und mit ihm das germanische Element in seinen verschiedenen Zweigungen, und der Celte, der Romane, der Slave. Aus dieser Mischung, friedlich vollzogen, muß sich die große Nation der Zukunft entwickeln, welche in der Freiheit der Selbstregierung ihr Glück und ihre Größe finden soll. Das gewaltige Experiment wird in dem Maße gelingen, wie jeder der verschiedenen Stämme das Lebensfähigste, das Beste, das ihm innewohnt, als seinen Beitrag zur Gesamtheit bietet, und das Beste, das von den andern geboten wird, in sich aufnimmt und sich zu eigen macht. Dies ist die Aufgabe, die, wie die anderen, so auch der Deutsche in Amerika zu erfüllen hat. Möge er sie ganz erfüllen.

Er wird sie nicht ganz erfüllen, wenn er sich hier jener Deutschtümelei hingibt, welche an allen Neigungen und Gewohnheiten des Heimatlandes, gleichviel ob sie gut oder nicht gut sind, eigensinnig festhält, und sich gegen Alles, was ihm nicht gewohnt ist, gleichviel wie gut es sein mag, engherzig verschließt. Wie viel Vortreffliches und Großes er auch in sich tragen mag, so unterscheidet sich der Deutsche doch nicht dadurch vor allen Anderen, daß

er der vollkommene Mensch ist. Wir haben viel, sehr viel Wertvolles, das wir nicht besaßen und das Andere brachten.

Vergessen wir also nie, daß wir hier nicht berufen sind, als Deutsche eine besondere Nationalität zu bilden, sondern das Tüchtigste, das in uns ist, zur amerikanischen Nationalität beizusteuern, und das Tüchtigste, das unsere Mit-Amerikaner vor uns voraus haben, an die Stelle unserer Schwächen zu setzen und mit unserem Wesen zu verschmelzen. Vergessen wir nie, daß wir im politischen Leben dieser Republik als Deutsche keine Sonderinteressen haben, sondern daß das allgemeine Wohl auch das Unsrige ist. Suchen wir gewissenhaft das zu erforschen, was das allgemeine Wohl verlangt, und handeln wir dann kühn und frei nach unserer ehrlichen Überzeugung, unbeirrt von kleinlichen Rücksichten, und unbeherrscht von einem selbstsüchtigen und tyrannischen Parteigeist. Widerstehen wir jeder Versuchung, in der Ausübung unserer politischen Rechte, das Wichtigste dem Minderwichtigen unterzuordnen, wenn dieses etwa eine unserer eigentümlichen Gewohnheiten oder Neigungen bereichert. Geben wir zum Beispiel, wie hoch wir auch die Sache der persönlichen Freiheit schätzen mögen, Niemand gerechte Ursache zu sagen, daß der Deutsche fähig sei, die höchsten öffentlichen Interessen hintanzusetzen, wenn es sich irgendwie um die Trinkfrage handelt. Lassen wir uns nie von jenem raisonniersüchtigen, unwürdigen, verderblichen, öden Pessimismus berücken, der jede Bestrebung zur Besserung unserer öffentlichen Zustände durch das Geschrei entmutigen will, es sei doch Alles Trug und Korruption, und nichts könne helfen; denn von allen faulen Tendenzen ist dieser Pessimismus die faulste. Halten wir fest an dem wohlbegründeten Glauben, daß dieses Volk einen unerschöpflichen Reichtum von reinen und edlen Elementen besitzt; daß unser freies Staatswesen für die Übel, die es gebiert, auch die Heilmittel liefert; daß, wie diese Republik mit glänzendem Beispiel beweist, bei einem Volke, welches im weitesten Sinne sich selbst regiert, manches Einzelne schlecht, und doch das Ganze gut gehen kann, und daß im Angesicht der Sorgen und Gefahren, welche die alte Welt quälen, das amerikanische Volk in diesem Lande des gesicherten Friedens und des Wohlseins alle Ursache hat, sich glücklich zu preisen. Bekräftigen wir diesen Glauben durch die Tat, indem wir stets unsere beste Energie dort einsetzen, wo es Gutes zu leisten und

Schlechtes zu bekämpfen gilt. So werden wir, unsere große Aufgabe erfüllend, der Achtung unserer Zeitgenossen sicher sein, und wir werden von unsern Nachkommen geehrt werden, wie wir in dieser Stunde unsere Vorgänger ehren.

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II.

Rede zur Feier des Deutschen Tages in Fort Madison, Ia., am 6. Oktober 1891.

Von General F. Sigel.

Der Deutsche Tag, oder deutsch-amerikanische Tag, soll, wie ich mir vorstelle, ein Tag der Erinnerung, der Erkenntnis und des Ausdrucks der patriotischen Gesinnung des deutsch-amerikanischen Elementes sein. Er erinnert uns mit teilnehmendem Herzen an diejenigen unserer Landsleute, welche in den Zeiten der schweren Not und des Elendes, nach den Kämpfen, Schrecken und Verfolgungen des dreißigjährigen Krieges und während der darauffolgenden Kriege, von den Ufern des Rheines und der Donau, von der Pfalz und Schwaben und anderen Teilen des damals zerrütteten und verwüsteteten deutschen Reiches, das noch dazu von den Türken vom Osten her angegriffen war, nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin, besonders aber nach den englischen Kolonien Amerikas auswanderten, um in der „Neuen Welt" eine neue Existenz zu suchen, sich selbst und ihre Familien zu retten und ihre politischen Grundsätze oder ihren religiösen Glauben zu bewahren. Sie verließen ihre Heimat zuerst einzeln und in Gruppen, dann zu Hunderten und Tausenden, wie jene 20,000, die über Holland nach England hinüberwanderten oder richtiger gesagt flohen, und dort alle möglichen Drangsale zu erleiden hatten. Diejenigen von ihnen, welche sich zum katholischen Glauben bekannten, 3584 an der Zahl, wurden mit ihren Geistlichen wieder nach Holland und den Hansastädten zurückgeschickt, 1600 nach den rauhen Scilly-Inseln, 2000 nach den Bergwerken von Sunderland, von wo sie aber wieder, durch Not und brutale Behandlung gezwungen, nach Deutschland zurückkehrten; 4000 wurden nach Irland in das

County Limerick gebracht, siedelten sich dort an und waren unter dem Namen der Palatiner, d. h. Pfälzer, bekannt. Von den übrigen 20,000 wurden im Jahre 1710 ungefähr die Hälfte nach den englischen Kolonien in Amerika hinübergeschifft und bildeten dort, mit den von William Penn und den von den Schweden und Holländern geschaffenen Ansiedelungen, den Keim und die Grundlage des deutschen Lebens in Amerika.

Bald sah man überall an der atlantischen Küste — von Georgia, Süd- und Nordcarolina, um Rappahannock, Roanoke und Delaware bis zum Hudson, Schoharie und Mohawk — auf neuem Boden neues Leben; stetig erwuchs aus den isolierten und sporadischen Anfängen ein neues Geschlecht, denn überall wo sich der Deutsche niederließ, da ersproßen durch seine Kraft und Ausdauer, seinen unermüdlichen Fleiß, seine Genügsamkeit und Sparsamkeit, seine Treue und Ehrlichkeit, kleine und größere Gemeinden und Ortschaften, welche im Andenken an das alte Vaterland und die engere Heimat heute noch deutsche Namen tragen, wie Mannheim, Heidelberg, oder ihren deutschen Ursprung bezeichnen, wie Germantown, Friedrichsburg und New Bern.

Zwar waren die deutschen Einwanderer der damaligen Zeit — mit Ausnahme der Pennsylvanier, die unter dem Schutze und der Leitung ihres unvergeßlichen Wohltäters, William Penn, standen — noch in einer Art Hörigkeit oder Knechtschaft; aber sie haben selbst schon damals mutig für ihre Existenz und ihr deutsches Wesen gestritten, denn nur im Kampfe für das Recht und das Rechte konnten sie das erreichen, was sie in jener primitiven, rauhen Zeit des amerikanischen Lebens erreicht und geschaffen haben. Damals hieß es, wie heute noch:

„Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
„Der täglich sie erobern muß."

War einmal der Weg nach dem amerikanischen Kontinent gezeigt, so folgten die verschiedenen Nationen dem Beispiele nach. — Die Franzosen in Canada und dem Mississippi-Tal, soweit als New-Orleans im Süden und mit Fort Du Quesne, dem heutigen Pittsburg, nach dem Osten zu. Eine Folge dieser englisch-französischen Ansiedlungen und Ausbreitung war der englisch-französi-

sche Kolonialkrieg, so wohl bekannt durch Braddocks Niederlage auf seinem Marsch gegen jenes Fort Du Quesne, an welch' unglücklichem Feldzuge auch George Washington teilnahm, und durch den Sieg der englisch-amerikanischen Kolonisten auf den Höhen von Quebeck. Ob die deutschen Ansiedler an jenen Kämpfen teilnahmen, ist schwer zu sagen; aber als englische Kolonisten waren sie ohne Zweifel auch an den Feldzügen der Kolonial-Truppen beteiligt, denn sie bestanden hauptsächlich aus Milizen. Desto sicherer wissen wir, daß sie im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege in der Mehrzahl auf Seiten der „Rebellen" standen; es war ein Mühlenberg, der seinen christlichen Landsleuten das große Beispiel der „church militant" — des „Priester-Soldaten" — gab, ein Herkheimer, der bei Oriskany mit seinen achthundert Mann deutscher Milizen dem Vordringen Burgoynes Einhalt gebot und elf Tage nach der Schlacht an der dabei erhaltenen Wunde starb. Es war ein von Steuben, der die Rebellen einexerzierte und ein de Kalb, der, an elf Wunden blutend, in der Schlacht von Camden fiel. Was hessische Mietlinge in ihrer Blindheit verschuldeten, haben die deutschen Kolonisten und deutsche Offiziere reichlich aufgewogen.

Nach dem Revolutionskriege dauerte die Einwanderung nach Amerika zwar fort, allein sie war schwach und wurde durch das englische, irländische und schottische Element bei weitem überboten, und diese Mischung gab auch der amerikanischen Bevölkerung ihren vorherrschenden Charakter. Die Napoleonischen Kriege und die Freiheitskriege, mit dem aufflammenden Patriotismus des deutschen Volkes, absorbierten die waffenfähige Bevölkerung, während der darauf folgende Friede die dem Volke gegebenen Versprechungen und Hoffnungen seine Aufmerksamkeit, sein Interesse und seine Wirksamkeit für das eigene Land festhielten.

Aber die Täuschung kam, — mit ihr die politische Agitation, befördert durch die Juli-Revolution vom Jahre 1830 in Frankreich; — es folgte die erste großartige Volksversammlung — das „Hambacherfest" in der Pfalz, an dem 30,000 Männer aus fast allen westeuropäischen Ländern teilnahmen, besonders aber aus Deutschland, Frankreich und der Schweiz, und Repräsentanten der polnischen Exilierten, und wobei zum ersten Male in den Reden des Geschichtsschreibers Wirth und des Doktors Siebenpfeiffer die Idee einer deutschen volkstümlichen Nationalvertretung, ja sogar

die einer deutschen Republik und eines westeuropäischen Völkerbundes ausgesprochen und mit großem Enthusiasmus aufgenommen wurde. Die Bewegung breitete sich aus, — die Frage einer rechtmäßigen Vertretung des deutschen Volkes — die Einheit und Freiheit Deutschlands — einer deutschen, vom Volke direkt gewählten National-Versammlung statt der alten, morschen Bundes-Versammlung, wurde in ganz Deutschland diskutiert und in den gesetzgebenden Versammlungen der konstitutionellen Staaten zu förmlichen Forderungen erhoben, — ja, dieser Gedanke einer direkt aus dem Volke hervorgegangenen Nationalvertretung ergriff alle deutschen Gemüter, von einem Ende Deutschlands bis zum andern — die Deutsch-Österreicher eingeschlossen, — von diesem Gedanken war das deutsche Volk erfaßt, ehe noch die französische Revolution vom Februar 1848 ausgebrochen war; diese schuf ihn nicht, sie förderte ihn bloß und brachte ihn wie ein elektrischer Strom zum tatsächlichen Ausbruch — in Süd- und Norddeutschland, im Westen und Osten, am Rhein und der Donau, in Baden und der Pfalz, in allen kleineren deutschen Staaten, sowie in Preußen und Österreich, in Berlin und Wien. Es war ein großer Tag, jener Deutsche Tag der Volkserhebung im Namen der Einheit und Freiheit, es war der größte und schönste Tag des neueren Deutschlands, als zum ersten Mal ein deutsches, direkt vom Volke gewähltes Parlament in der Paulskirche von Frankfurt sich versammelte und nach gründlicher, aber langer, zu langer Arbeit — sie nahm fast ein Jahr in Anspruch — im April 1849 die Reichsverfassung verkündigte, die heute noch in ihren Grundzügen die Grundlage des neuen deutschen Reiches bildet.

Sie wissen wie die ganze Bewegung endigte. Geschwächt durch die Abtrünnigkeit fürstlicher Handlanger, verraten durch die Furchtsamen und im Stiche gelassen durch einen schwachen König, ging das Reich zu Grunde, ehe es faktisch existierte; das Parlament schrumpfte zu einem Rumpf-Parlament zusammen und seine letzte Versammlung von 100 Mitgliedern in Stuttgart wurde durch gutmütige, aber gehorsame schwäbische Kosaken an der Sitzung verhindert, trotzdem daß Ludwig Uhland, der große und mit Recht gefeierte schwäbische Dichter und Patriot, an der Spitze der nationalen Vertreter einherschritt und Eintritt in das Versammlungslokal verlangte. So endigte das Parlament.

Die monarchische Intervention und die Reaktion siegten überall und fanden ihren europäischen Abschluß mit dem Staatsstreich von Louis Napoleon — dem „Kleinen" — wie Victor Hugo ihn nennt.

Schon die Furcht vor dem, was kommen könnte oder würde, jener politische Instinkt, der durch eine Masse von Einflüßen sich erzeugt, trieb 1847, ein Jahr vor der allgemeinen Erhebung, Tausende von Personen aus der Heimat in die Fremde; ihnen folgte die Avantgarde der Männer von 1848 und 49, der Beteiligten an dem Widerstande gegen die monarchische Verschwörung, aber sie verließen ihre Heimat nicht, ohne wenigstens vorher mit dem Schwert in der Hand ihre Sache zu verfechten. Von den gewaltigen Ereignissen, welche nicht allein Deutschland, sondern ganz Europa wie ein großes Erdbeben erschütterten, datiert sich der großartige Strom der neueren Massenauswanderung, welche sich über die Vereinigten Staaten ergoß, sie belebte und befruchtete. Es war die große Armee der Freiheit, welche die bereits errungene Position ihrer Landsleute in Amerika verstärkte und von nun an als ein starkes, junges und begeistertes Element in die Verhältnisse und in die Entwicklung des Landes eingriff.

Denn jene Hunderttausende kamen, nicht um bloß „ihr Leben zu machen", sondern um in politischer, religiöser und sozialer Beziehung frei zu leben. Sie kamen, weil sie keine Herrschaft von 34 großen und kleinen Fürsten, keinen Militär- und Polizeistaat, sondern einen Volksstaat, Selbstregierung und Selbstbewaffnung wollten. Deshalb die Kämpfe, die sie zu bestehen hatten, denn sie fanden hier kein schwaches, sondern ein starkes, wohlorganisiertes und an seinem starren Wesen und seinen besonderen Sitten, Ansichten und Gewohnheiten festhaltendes Volk, das nicht leicht zu bekehren war und noch ist; außerdem waren die Deutschen mit geringen Ausnahmen der englischen Sprache nicht mächtig, daher auch ihre besondere Organisationen jeder Art, eine besondere deutsche Presse, deutsche Pfarrer, Schulmeister, Advokaten und zahlreiche deutsche Geschäftshäuser, Künstler und Arbeiter, wodurch sich mitten im amerikanischen Leben und Treiben ein besonderes deutsch-amerikanisches Element entwickelte, das von nun an als ein bedeutender politischer und sozialer Faktor in Rechnung ge-

bracht werden mußte und speziell im Namen der politischen Gleichberechtigung und persönlichen Freiheit in die Schranken trat.

Dann kam die Frage der Sklaverei, die Secessionsfrage und der Krieg Während in Beziehung auf die Sklaverei die Deutschen im Allgemeinen und im Prinzip gegen die Sklaverei waren, hielt doch noch ein großer Teil von ihnen an den alten Staatsrechts-Doctrinen fest, anders aber war es hinsichtlich der Secession und des Krieges. Wie sie in Masse in dieses Land kamen, so traten sie auch in Masse für die amerikanische Republik, ihre Einheit und Unteilbarkeit ein. Sie waren gerade in der ersten Zeit der großen Krisis auch unter den ersten, die sich organisierten und bewaffneten und in den ersten Unternehmungen und Treffen ihre Treue und Anhänglichkeit für das Land ihrer Wahl bewiesen. So war es besonders in den Grenz-Staaten von Maryland bis Missouri. Unter den ersten Truppen waren auch 5 Compagnien von Pennsylvanien — im Ganzen 400 Mann — welche am 18. April 1861 durch Baltimore passierten, einen Tag vor dem sechsten Regiment von Massachusetts, abends in Washington eintrafen, und das Capitol besetzten; und von diesen waren wenigstens die Hälfte Deutsch-Pennsylvanier. In Baltimore empfing sie der Mob mit dem Geschrei „welcome to southern graves". In Washington aber, wo die größte Angst und Besorgnis herrschte, begrüßte sie das loyale Volks „als das erste willkommene Zeichen der Hoffnung und Zuversicht."

Jenes spontane und zeitige Einschreiten der unionistischen Organisationen hat der Rebellion gleich in ihrem ersten bewaffneten Vorschriften Einhalt geboten und wirkte zugleich als ein großes Beispiel des patriotischen Geistes, der zur Nachahmung aufforderte. Von den 2,500,000 wirklichen Streitern für die Union waren 500,000 im Auslande geboren, oder 20 Prozent und unter diesen 186,000 Deutsche, 144,000 Irländer, die anderen Skandinavier, Franzosen und Italiener, Schweizer, Polen u. s. w.

Die großen Tatsachen und Resultate des Krieges sind bekannt. Er endete mit dem Triumph der Einheit und Freiheit und wenn es eine große Genugtuung für die Deutsch-Amerikaner gibt, so ist es die, mit den Waffen in der Hand oder mit Wort und Schrift und mit ihrem moralischen und materiellen Einfluß zu diesem

Resultat ihr gutes Teil beigetragen zu haben. Sie haben zuerst die Wahl Lincoln's und dann den Sieg des Nordens über den Süden möglich gemacht. Sie waren die treuen Stützen der Anti-Sklaverei-Partei unter Fremont und Lincoln und blieben es bis zum letzten Moment des großen Kampfes. Das amerikanische Volk hat sich zu ungeheurer Macht entwickelt und im Verhältnis mit ihm das deutsch-amerikanische Element.

Wie wird sich die Zukunft des Landes gestalten? Wird sich die Geschichte Europa's hier wiederholen und jede einzelne der großen Nationalitäten ihr besonderes Nest auf amerikanischem Boden bauen? Oder werden sie im Kampfe erliegen und untergehen? Ich glaube nicht an eine solche Alternative. Ich glaube nicht an die Misere der Absonderung und Trennung.

Die Elemente der Einigung sind zu mächtig um eine Absonderung permanent zu machen; die Verbindung durch Eisenbahnen und Telegraphen zu leicht, die Geschäftsinteressen zu großartig, um die einzelnen Nationalitäten an bestimmte Regionen zu binden; die Gesetze des Landes zu frei, um sie davon auszuschließen. Das ganze Land ist das Feld der Arbeit für alle ohne Unterschied der Rasse oder Nationalität. Es ist unser Land — sein Interesse unser Interesse. Laßt uns an diesem Gedanken festhalten und während wir unser eigenes Wesen bewahren und die Idee der persönlichen Freiheit nach allen Richtungen hin verteidigen, in der Politik für unsere Rechte einstehen, zeitgemäße Reformen anstreben und Kunst und Wissenschaft pflanzen, laßt uns nicht vergessen, daß wir hier auf amerikanischem Boden stehen, daß wir der Republik Treue geschworen haben, daß Tausende unserer Landsleute für die Erhaltung, Einheit und Freiheit derselben ihr Blut vergossen haben und daß wir als amerikanische Bürger, d. h. in rein politischer Beziehung, nichts anderes sein können und sein müssen, als Amerikaner. Ist dies zu viel gesagt? Ist es ein bloßes Bagatell, ist es nichts ein Amerikaner zu sein?

Was sind die Vereinigten Staaten? Was ist die amerikanische Republik? Ein immenses Gebiet, fast über einen ganzen Continent sich ausbreitend, mit allen Gütern der Erde gesegnet, begrenzt und beschützt von den ewigen Wellen des Meeres; ein Volk von

Völkern, eine Nation von Nationen, mit hundert Zungen und einer einzigen universellen Sprache; eine Errungenschaft, die nirgends für ein so weites Gebiet existiert und die die Sprachelemente der gebildesten Völker in sich enthält, das Germanische und Romanische, welche mit dem Celtischen den Kern des gewaltigen Volkskörpers bilden und die gerade, weil sie so ist, allen geeignet war und geeignet ist, diese Elemente zu einem großen Ganzen zu verbinden.

Laßt uns diesen Vorteil einer gemeinsamen Landessprache, welche heute schon von über 120,000,000 Menschen gesprochen wird, nicht mit leichtem Sinn hinnehmen und betrachten, denn die Ausbreitung und Macht eines Volkes liegt zum großen Teil in der Ausbreitung dieses Instrumentes der Macht, des inneren und äußeren Handels und Verkehrs.

Was ist die amerikanische Republik? Die alte Welt verpflanzt auf neuen Boden, auf dem sie sich, mit den Errungenschaften von Jahrtausenden ausgerüstet, unter günstigeren Bedingungen entwickeln konnte; ein Asyl und die letzte Hoffnung der Geächteten und Verfolgten, die „Königin der Arbeit", der Sammelpunkt für die tausendfältigen Kräfte der Zivilisation und Kultur; ein Volk, das ein neues Evangelium in der Form der Unabhängigkeit-Erklärung verkündigte, wie es aus dem Gehirn des größten politischen Genies seiner Zeit entsprossen ist; ein Volk, dessen Dasein auf den festen Pfeilern einer großartigen Verfassung ruht, geläutert durch den Kampf und Sieg über die vererbte Macht des Sklavenhaltertums,

Laßt uns dies erkennen und festhalten an diesem unschätzbaren Gute. Laßt uns erkennen, daß in der Erhaltung des Ganzen, in der Macht und Größe, in der Entwicklung und dem Fortschritt der Republik unsere eigene Sicherheit und unser eigenes spezielles Interesse am besten bewahrt sind und laßt deshalb die eine, freie, unteilbare und unzerstörbare Republik unsere Zuversicht und unser höchstes Ziel sein.

KARL HEINZEN, REFORMER, POET AND LITERARY CRITIC.

By Paul Otto Schinnerer, A. M.

Introduction.

The political movement of 1848, the various phases of the agitation preceding it, and the activity of the men who, like Karl Heinzen, advocated it with all the eloquence at their disposal, fought for it with all available means, and finally suffered lifelong exile for their endeavor, can only be properly understood and appreciated from an historical standpoint. We, who have profited by the political experience of the last half century, and can look back upon the unification of Germany in 1870, are likely to consider the whole movement the work of impractical idealists and of political fanatics. But even though this unification has been achieved by a great statesman on a monarchical basis instead of the democratic foundation so ardently desired and fought for, it would have been impossible, had not the path been smoothed by the agitations for liberal reforms. The final achievement is due not only to Bismarck, the statesman, but in a very great measure to the campaign for unification, for liberty and freedom, inaugurated by German patriots, thinkers and poets, after the national disaster of the battle of Jena in 1806.

As early as 1803 Ernst Moritz Arndt, in his pamphlet, "Germanien und Europa," had protested against the tendency to separate from the concrete problems of ordinary life the individualistic ideal of a free humanity, whose influence, however, he could no more escape than the others, and had demanded unity of state and of the people, "Einheit des Staates und des Volkes."[1] In 1806 he published his "Geist der Zeit," in which he condemned the existing state of culture as being too unworldly. He recalls the glorious past of Germany, and seeks to awaken a sense of shame at the present humiliation

[1] F. Meinecke, Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, p. 99 ff.

and degradation. The poets are not in touch with the needs and aspirations of the people, but are engaged in the narrow pursuit of self-culture. All this must be swept away, and a new spirit, a consciousness of the needs of the nation, must take its place.

Two years later Fichte delivered his memorable "Reden an die deutsche Nation" at a great personal risk, for the troops of Napoleon were occupying the country and his spies were to be found everywhere. While Arndt had attempted the regeneration of the German people by historical criticism, Fichte made his appeal primarily to the moral consciousness and to the will. His remedy for the political unity and restoration of Germany lay in public education, as a means for inculcating a spirit of patriotism and an ardent desire for liberty. Largely to his endeavors must be ascribed the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810 as an outspoken means of making it the centre of a new patriotic spirit.

Nor must we overlook the contributions of the Romantic movement to the uprising of 1813. It is true that in the main its tendency was a turning away from the problems of this world, at least in the beginning; that these poets found their ideal in a spiritual, ultra-mundane sphere, and that they sought consolation for the disrupted state of present affairs in the greatly idealized age of the German past, and in the unity of the Catholic Church. But at the same time they fostered the spirit of nationality by rediscovering the lost treasures of the German nation. The revival of the folk-songs in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, of the popular tales and legends in the "Kinder- und Hausmärchen", by the brothers Grimm, was not the least factor in awakening reminiscences of a past when there still existed a German nation, and hopes of a future when this nation was to rise again in ancient splendour.

The results of this agitation soon became apparent. Everywhere the national spirit was awakened, and men responded to the solemn call of duty. Under the leadership of Stein and Hardenberg the Prussian army was reorganized; recruits were

not wanting to take up arms for the holy cause of the Fatherland. Even the professors at the universities dismissed their classes in order to participate in the drills. The whole nation was aglow with enthusiasm, all the petty strifes and dissensions were forgotten in the great cause, and finally the King of Prussia, seized with the spirit of his people, issued his call to arms. In the poems of Arndt, Schenkendorf, and Körner, this craving for the political freedom and unity has been immortalized. With their fiery battle songs they not only stirred the soldiers, but everywhere the people could be heard singing them with joyous and youthful delight. It was like pouring oil on the fire when Theodor Körner, following the summons to arms, addressed the people.

> "Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
> Hell aus dem Norden bricht der Freiheit Licht!
> Du sollst den Stahl in Feindes Herzen tauchen;
> Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
> Die Saat ist reif; ihr Schnitter, zögert nicht!
> Das höchste Heil, das letzte, liegt im Schwerte!
> Drück' dir den Speer ins treue Herz hinein:
> Der Freiheit eine Gasse! — Wasch die Erde,
> Dein deutsches Land, mit deinem Blute rein!"

But these patriots were to be sorely disappointed. Hardly had they succeeded in driving Napoleon from the country, when a fierce reaction against all liberal movements set in. The promises of the King of Prussia to give his people a constitution were shamefully broken. The very leaders of the patriotic movement who had freed Germany from its oppressors and reorganized Prussia, were accused of treason and locked up. There is hardly a period in German history as disgraceful as that of the Régime Metternich.

But although the "Demagogenhetze" was carried on relentlessly and mercilessly, the spirit of freedom could not be surpressed and the ideal lived on in men's minds. It now devolved upon the students of the Universities to perpetuate the ideals which the poets had inculcated and fostered, and which had brought about the enthusiastic uprising of 1813. Imbued with the noble and manful ideas of Fichte, the student organizations now began a process of inner reformation. Great-

ly stirred by the uplifting events of 1813, and moved by the greatness of the German nation in the past, with which they became acquainted in the classrooms, a deep devotion to the Fatherland gradually filled their hearts. The degenerating drinking bouts gave way to moderation and the "mens sana in corpore sano" once more became the ideal. Instead of the drinking songs, the patriotic and serious hymns of Arndt and others became the favorites. Moreover, the students themselves began military drill, and, better still, an attempt was made to break up the petty distinctions between the students of the different German states. The societies dominant thus far were the so-called "Landsmannschaften", organizations of students from one and the same state, and the rivalry and hostility between them was very great. A new organization consisting of students from the different states was to be formed. In June, 1815, the members of two Landsmannschaften in Jena, together with a number of "barbarians", actually organized a new association, the "Burschenschaft". Only a year later all other organizations had dissolved, and the Burschenschaft seemed to have achieved its object, namely, a confederation of the whole Christian-Germanic student body. At the suggestion of Turnvater Jahn, the black-red-gold banner of the volunteers of Lützow, which was to be the emblem of freedom for fifty years, was adopted as the emblem of the organization. Soon other universities followed the example of Jena and organized similar associations. In October, 1818, the representatives of fourteen Universities met in Jena, and there made it a national organization, under the name of "Die allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft," which was "organized on the relation of the German Youth to the future unity of the German Fatherland." The constitution stated as the object of the Burschenschaft: "Unity, freedom, equality between its members, and a development in a "Christian-Germanic spirit of all faculties for the service of the Fatherland." One despotic clause, however, called for the dissolution of all other societies, and every student was to be obliged to join.

Needless to state, the authorities began to view the situation with alarm. After the well-known Wartburgfest had

caused considerable discussion, the murder of Kotzebue by Karl Sand, which was not in the spirit of the association, but entirely the work of several radical members acting on their own initiative, gave the reactionary party such a fright that drastic measures were taken to stop all further agitation. In the famous Karlsbad decrees of 1819, all secret and unauthorized student societies were summarily prohibited, particularly that "association established some years since under the name of the 'Burschenschaft', since the very conception implies the utterly unallowable plan of permanent fellowship and constant communication between the various universities." Spies were placed in all universities to watch both students and professors, and a stringent censorship of the press was instituted.

What could not be done openly, was done in secret, and secret chapters of the Burschenschaft, more radical than the original society, came into existence, where the passion for a unified fatherland was kept burning. As late as 1835 Karl Gutzkow and Heinrich Laube were endangered because of their alleged membership in the Burschenschaft. But on the whole the reaction of Metternich was successful, and the champions of freedom had to content themselves with waiting for a better and more propitious time.

This time seemed to have come in the year 1840. On June 7th of that year, Frederick William IV ascended the throne left vacant by his father. Youthful, imaginative, of a romantic nature, he had long been the hope of the liberals. Already long before, a poet, C. K. J. Bunsen, had propheciecl of this time:

> "Was tausend Jahr vergebens erstrebt das Vaterland,
> Wird rasch sich dann erheben von solches Bauherrn Hand."[2]

Another incident to awaken the national spirit and to raise it to a high pitch was France's attitude towards the Rhine. Having been unsuccessful in their oriental campaign, the French people wished to vindicate their honor by their insolent clamor for the possession of the Rhine. How much the Ger-

[2]Christian Petzet, Politische Lyrik, München 1902, p. 10.

mans resented this demand can be seen from the remarkable popularity of Nikolaus Becker, who had answered with his famous lines:

"Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,
Den freien deutschen Rhein."[3]

Among scores of similar songs, protesting against the insults of France, and expressing the indignation of the Germans thereat, I will mention only one more, which has since become the German national hymn, "Die Wacht am Rhein," by Max Schneckenburger:

"Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall,
Wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall:
Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein!
Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!"[4]

In this same year the four hundreth anniversary of the German invention of the art of printing was celebrated. This certainly also served as an admonition for energetic action in endeavors for liberal progress and national unity, by bringing to general consciousness the spiritual leadership which Germany had enjoyed for a century, as well as the altogether unworthy and even disgraceful position which she occupied politically among the leading nations of Europe.

But although these several events occasioned the sudden outbreak of the national spirit in a great number of political lyrics, they themselves would not have been sufficient cause, had not the public spirit reached that stage of development which was necessary for the production as well as the proper understanding of these lyrics. That burning desire for freedom which was at first manifested by the great poets and thinkers of the eighteenth century, and which had then taken hold of the students after the Napoleonic Wars, was now to be transferred to the people. And whereas the speculations of the great eighteenth century poets had been almost wholly

[3]Petzet, Ibid., pp. 17 and 42.

[4]Petzet. Ibid., 9ff.

ideal and theoretical, and the conceptions of such men as Arndt and Schenkendorf vague and indefinite, the political lyric was now to prosecute definite, concrete aims.

Many and diverse incidents in the course of the following years served as a basis for the political lyric, which the poets used as a protest against the existing administration, to demand popular government and reforms, to inculcate greater love for the fatherland, and even to incite the people to rise in arms against the oppressors. Among these events were the various attempts of Frederick William IV to institute popular reforms, the completion of the Cologne Cathedral, as a manifestation of German patriotism, the great conflagration of Hamburg, which was felt as a national disaster, and for the victims of which money was collected in all parts of Germany. There was also the erection of a monument to the old Germanic hero Arminus in the Teutoburger Wald. These, with many other events, were all welcome material for the poetic muse.

A few characteristic selections must suffice here to sketch the range and the spirit of the political poetry. Thus the necessity for a union of the German principalities and of the German people is voiced by Hoffman von Fallersleben, from whose pen we also have the national hymn, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.":

> "Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
> Auf! wir wollen uns verbinden,
> Und wir können jeden Feind
> Treuverbunden überwinden."
>
> "Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
> Darnach strebet, darnach ringet!
> Dasz der schöne Tag erscheint,
> Der uns endlich Einheit bringet."[7]

He has learned that waiting is useless, that promises will not be kept, and that therefore action on the part of the people is the only remedy:

> "Wie viel man auch verspricht,
> O traut den Worten nicht!
> Ein Wort ist Schall und Wind—
> Seid doch nicht taub und blind."[7]

More extremely radical is George Herwegh, who proclaims openly and defiantly:

"Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
Wir wollen endlich hassen."[5]

Filled with a blind rage against all the oppressors, uncompromising to the core, he urges a violent breaking down of all the barriers to freedom, and in a tone that had not been heard since Körner's "Frisch auf, mein Volk, die Flammenzeichen rauchen," he issues his mighty call to arms:

"Reiszt die Kreuze aus der Erden!
Alle sollen Schwerter werden,
Gott im Himmel wird's verzeihn.
Laszt, o laszt das Verseschweiszen!
Auf den Ambos legt das Eisen!
Heiland sol das Eisen sein!"[6]

Robert Prutz summarizes the demands of the liberal opposition in a poem entitled "Was wir wollen." The fatherland shall be united, independent, from the Rhine to the shores of the Baltic; the princes shall have confidence in their people, and raise the pillars of their power only on the basis of right and justice; the people shall be brave and mighty, freeman like their forefathers; the laws shall be:

"Kurz und rund,
Die klar und deutlich sprechen,
Und die auch keines Königs Mund
Darf biegen oder brechen."

Only such ministers are desired :

"Die dem Jahrhundert
Weit offne Straszen bahnen."[7]

Further demands are free knowledge and science, liberty of the press, and a constitution. One of the most effective poems of these years is that of Ferdinand Freiligrath, comparing Germany with Hamlet:

[5]Petzet, Ibid., pp. 53, 81, 138.

[6]Petzt, Ibid., 138.

[7]Petzet, Ibid., 170.

"Deutschland ist Hamlet—ernst und stumm
In seinen Fluren jede Nacht
Geht die begrabene Freiheit um
Und winkt den Männern auf der Wacht.
Da steht die Hohe blankbewehrt,
Und sagt dem Zaud'rer, der noch zweifelt:
Sei mir ein Rächer, zieh dein Schwert!
Man hat mir Gift ins Ohr geträufelt."

Hamlet (or Germany) hears the spirit, and the awful truth begins to dawn upon him, but he is vacillating and undecided, he has not the courage to avenge the foul murder by a brave deed. When he finally takes up the sword in the last act, it is only to his own destruction. The poet warns Germany against the same fate:

Gottlob, noch sind wir nicht so weit!
Vier Akte sahn wir spielen erst!
Hab' Acht, Held! dasz die Ähnlichkeit
Nich auch im letzten du bewährst!
Wir hoffen früh, wir hoffen spät:
O, raff dich auf und komm zum Streiche.
Und hilf entschlossen, weil es geht,
Zu ihrem Recht des fleh'enden Leiche!"[8]

The fact that these poems were known and read everywhere, that these poets were among the most popular men of the time, is sufficient proof of the great influence they exerted in arousing the public spirit to action. They were the champions of an oppressed and downtrodden people which was clamoring for liberty. Year by year the movement grew, the demands became more insistent, and public opinion was aroused to a higher pitch. Newspapers and magazines took up the cry, publicists issued scores of pamphlets denouncing the existing regime. When this was impossible at home, they went across the boundary, as did Karl Heinzen, to Switzerland, and from there carried on the agitation with increasing vehemence. All other questions were eclipsed by this one; everybody felt that the time was not far distant when their hopes would be realized. When in February, 1848, the news arrived that France had once more shaken off the rule of monarchy and proclaimed the Second Republic, it was greeted with wild ap-

[8]Petzet, 195f.

plause, and Freiligrath, in London, celebrated the events with the well-known poem, "Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz":

> "Was weiter wird:—noch harren wir!
> Doch wird's die Freiheit werden!
> Die Freiheit dort, die Freiheit hier,
> Die Freiheit jetzt, und für und für,
> Die Freiheit rings auf Erden.
> Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz,
> Und die da nieder donnern musz,
> Die Lawine kam ins Rollen."[9]

Space does not permit us to go into details here about the memorable events of the next months, or the attempts of the Frankfort Parliament to bring about the ardently desired unification. Once more the patriotic hopes of the Germans were doomed to disappointment. By 1850 the old order had been restored, the old reaction set in again, and many of the leading men had to flee from Germany for safety because of their participation in the struggle for freedom.

It is remarkable what a complete change came over German life in the next year. The nation which had been a seething cauldron of political ideas and aspirations in the previous decade, for whom all questions had been merged in the one great desire for freedom, now relapsed into its former indifference. It seemed as if the great climax of 1848 had sucked every drop of energy from its body, as if it had been consumed by the great fire which had been raging within it. The political lyrics which had attained such an importance among the poetic productions of the time as to drive all other competitors from the field, now gradually disappeared, until they finally died a slow and natural death. The people, instead, sought consolation and diversion in a semi-romantic world of fiction and in sentimental lyric poetry, where they would not be reminded of their shameful defeat, and in which they could escape from the realities of this life.

We are now to consider a man who, in contrast to the class of people just mentioned, remained true to his ideals after the revolution, who did not abate a particle from his pre-

[9]Petzet, p. 204.

revolutionary attitude, who, although forced to emigrate to America, continued the struggle with the same zeal and ardour which he displayed in Germany.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of Heinzen's Life.

Karl Peter Heinzen was born on February 22, 1809, at the village of Grevenbroich, in the vicinity of Cologne. His mother died when he was only four years old. His reminiscences of her were very vague, and perhaps for this very reason he surrounded her with a halo and idealized her. At any rate she seems to have been a very good mother to him, and in later years when his father and his teachers tried to curb and break his stuborn and independent spirit, he longed for the kind and sympathetic influence of his deceased mother. His physical strength, which he later displayed to the great disadvantage of his fellow-students, and the height of six feet and three inches, which he attained in mature life, he inherited from his paternal ancestors. With considerable pride he narrates some wonderful feats of strength of his grandfather, who on one occasion picked up an opponent who attacked him in the dark, and hurled him fifteen paces through the door of a nearby house. His greatgrandfather enjoyed the reputation of having been even stronger. His father had taken up the study of philosophy, jurisprudence, and forestry in Cologne and Bonn, and in 1795, under the regime of the French Republic, had received a position as "garde generale des camps et forets." He was at the time an ardent Republican, and his enthusiasm led him to criticize his former teachers severely for not daring to profess publicly the republican principles which they had inculcated in him. However, when he was made inspector of forests under the new Prussian rule in 1815, he also became worldly wise and adapted himself to the circumstances. This explains the fact that he never sought to influence his son Karl in the direction of Republicanism. Indeed, he was never able to understand the peculiar nature of his son, and therefore failed completely in the choice of the proper method of bringing him up, seeking

to accomplish by force and harshness what leniency and sympathy alone could have achieved.

After the death of his mother Karl was placed in the hands of his grandparents and the sister of his mother, who lived in the little village of Nievenheim. His relatives, like almost all the people in this village, belonged to the Catholic church. They were haunted by the prevalent superstitions of villagers, with which they played upon his youthful imagination. A little later he was placed in the local schools, where he also received religious instruction. He was even selected to assist the priest in the ceremonies of the mass and to carry the crucifix at the head of processions. At the age of nine he was sent to Wittlar, where his education was continued under the supervision of his paternal uncle, the "Domherr" Heinzen, who intended to prepare him for the priesthood, but soon relinquished the idea. This religious training was without doubt one of the factors that caused the antipathy and hostility which he showed in later life not only to the Catholic Church but also to every Church and every religion. The narrow life of his youth, with all its dead formalism and its many superstitions, was bound to produce a reaction in a clear-headed, logical person like Heinzen.

When his father moved to Cleve some time later and took his four children with him, Heinzen rejoiced, for now he came to live in a large city, and could also attend the local Gymnasium, where a larger circle of acquaintances could be found. But he fared no better here. Not only were there continual conflicts between him and his father, against whose harsh treatment he rebelled, but he also had many clashes with the teachers at the Gymnasium. The dry routine of the school, with its many regulations, was repulsive to him, and to give vent to his anger he resorted to pranks of all kinds, which almost drove his superiors to desperation. To put an end to the continual warfare, his father sent him to a private institution at Kempen, the Director of which was his college-mate and friend. But this was jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, for the school was a former monastery, many

of whose teachers were priests. It was a veritable prison, and every movement was controlled by stringent rules. Every morning the hundred inmates were obliged to attend church service at an early hour, not to speak of Sundays and holidays, and during the day they passed most of the time in the classes or in their rooms, with little opportunity to enjoy freedom in the open air. It is not surprising that under such circumstances a healthy, robust person like Heinzen sought relief by harassing and tormenting his teachers wherever possible. Finally his father was asked to remove the rebel from school, but upon the former's plea another trial was made. The Director now accorded Karl a more humane treatment, better adapted to his peculiar nature, and the results were satisfactory, so that he could leave the college with a fairly good testimonial. But when he re-entered the Gymnasium at Cleve, conditions had not changed there, and the old rebellious spirit broke out again, now finding expression in more refined means, in verses and satires on his teachers. In his whole conduct at this time he already manifests the future revolutionist, who, as he himself says, must be born; whom circumstances may be able to develop, but not create. In his autobiography he says: "From childhood on nothing was more odious to me, than to do something because others did so, or to recognize something because it had the sanction of tradition. My natural feeling rebelled against everything that I was to do without my own initiative, inclination, or conviction. On the other hand, I always expressed my opinions openly, and was more inclined to show a hostile, rather than a friendly attitude."[10]

Before even finishing the complete course at the Gymnasium, he went to the University of Bonn in 1827, and registered as a student of medicine. He was, however, more interested in the study of history and literature, and neglected his work. One day, when he was obliged to dissect a corpse before the class, he was so filled with horror that he gave up medicine in disgust, and devoted himself exclu-

[10]Gesammelte Werke, Vol. III, p. 33.

sively to philology. He did not at first take part in the customary drinking and duelling of the students, but many societies cast admiring and longing glances on his imposing figure. When on one occasion he had given Wienbarg, who was later to play an important role in "Young Germany," and who had smashed a wine-bottle on the head of a small opponent, a good thrashing, and thrown him out of the room, he yielded to the entreaties to join the "Westphalia," and became a member. He was soon recognized as one of the most formidable duellists on the floor, and many students received marks of distinction from his sword which they kept all their lives. But with the professors he was on no better terms than in his previous years, and they had to suffer many annoyances as the result of his dissatisfaction. His insolent demeanor and his sarcastic tone of speech against his superiors caused his dismissal in 1829.

Heinzen did not shed any tears on this account. On the contrary, he was more glad than sorry, for now he felt himself freed from all the oppressive limitations under which he had suffered and fumed his entire life. He had long felt an ardent longing for a wider sphere of action, for adventures, and for travel. But the lack of money, which thwarted many other plans of his in the future, was an insurmountable obstacle. He and an adventurous friend therefore decided to go to East India, with one of the regiments of Holland. In the fall of the same year they set out for Holland, and soon were enlisted as "Unteroffiziere" in an expedition for Batavia. But life here was almost unbearable. The strict discipline of a soldier's life, the hardships of the long voyage, and the monotonous, wearisome life in Batavia were too much for him. He applied for his release, and was fortunate enough to secure it. Sixteen months after his departure he again landed in Rotterdam, penniless as before. It is interesting to note that the July Revolution in France, of which, however, he did not hear until his return in 1831, did not affect him in the least. His political interest was not to be awakened until later.

He was, however, ashamed of his destitute condition, and too proud to go home as a prodigal son. On the other hand, he had not been permanently cured of his romantic desire for travel and adventure, and was considering the possibility of another voyage, possibly to America. In order not to become a deserter, he first entered the Prussian Army as "einjähriger Freiwilliger." During this time he became acquainted with Louise Moras, the daughter of a lawyer in Cleve, and the widow of the Rittmeister Schiller. She was a woman of remarkable ability, beautiful, cultured and kind. For a time they avoided each other, but when they became better acquainted and saw the similarity of their ideals and aspirations, their fate was sealed, and they decided to marry. All Heinzen's other plans were thus suddenly shattered, and he now was obliged to secure some means of livelihood, not only for himself, but also for the four children of his wife. What was he to do? He had no source of income; he had not even learned a trade. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be to secure a position as tax-collector in the civil service of Prussia, but this proved not such an easy matter. After many disgusting experiences in the so-called examinations, he finally secured a position a year and a half later. During the next eight years he occupied this same position, living first in the city of Cleve, and afterwards in Gummersbach, Elberfeld and Cologne. In Cologne he advanced to the position of revenue-inspector, and later served in the capacity of "Kollationator" in the office of the Director of Revenues of his province. Before he left Cleve, when he was hardly twenty-six years old, his wife died. She had been a true comrade to him and the only consolation in his many trials. Deep as his grief was, he was not even granted a few days' leave from the monotonous work at which he was engaged. But the four children had to be fed and provided for, and for their sake he continued at his task, which at times was almost unbearable. His remuneration was two hundred and forty dollars per year, a small enough sum on which to rear a family, especially when he was obliged to spend whole days on his inspection tours and pay extra for board and lodging. But there were other causes

for dissatisfaction and opposition. The whole system, with the wholesale suppression of all individual effort, was repulsive to his independent and freedom-loving nature. He objected to being used as a mere machine, and wanted free play for his own inclinations. To put an end to this servility he finally severed his connections with the service after a "personal struggle of eight years with the bureaucracy." The political side of the question had not yet influenced him, or been a factor in his opposition. Although of a Republican disposition, he had not as yet reached that stage of clear understanding of the political aspect. His struggle was an entirely personal affair, without any general revolutionary tendencies. However, his service in the bureaucracy was a practical training school for his later opposition, and furnished him with the material for his epoch-making treatise: "The Prussian Bureaucracy."

After quitting the civil service, Heinzen attempted to make a living from the proceeds of his publications, but he soon saw that this was impossible, and accepted a more remunerative position as "Direktionssekretär" of the "Rheinische Eisenbahngesellschaft," and later to Secretary of the Fire Insurance Company at Aachen. But he was able to find time for writing nevertheless, and published a collection of his poems, several comedies, and a narrative of his voyage to Batavia, also his experience there. He also acted as correspondent for the "Leipziger Allgemeine" and the "Mannheimer Abendzeitung" and later for the "Rheinische Zeitung" in Cologne.

The above-mentioned book, "The Prussian Bureaucracy," was a landmark in Heinzen's career. Its hostile reception by the Prussian authorities, and the subsequent persecution of Heinzen, were the real causes which made him extend his personal struggle for freedom to a general political opposition and a revolutionary campaign of sweeping proportions. This book had been forbidden by the authorities a year before it actually made its appearance. Nevertheless Heinzen, as obstinate as ever, decided to publish it, and found a very ingenious method of circulating it. When he had announced the proposed plan and contents of the book, and had asked for

contributions for its publication, the whole police was instructed to keep an open eye on the same, and to confiscate any copies that might appear. But Heinzen had not made public the name of the publisher, and had secretly instructed him to arrange the distribution in such a way that the book would arrive in all the Prussian cities at approximately the same time. The booksellers were urged to dispose of them immediately. These instructions were all properly carried out, and thus the authorities were able to lay hands on only a few copies. The book created a great sensation, not only on account of the daring language, but also on account of the author's intimate and thorough knowledge of his subject. Later as high as ten to twelve dollars were paid for a single copy.

As soon as the book arrived in Cologne, proceedings were instituted against Heinzen on the grounds of "causing dissatisfaction with the government among its citizens." Heinzen at first intended to appear and answer the charge, if the case were heard by a proper court, but he got wind of another charge, made in secret, for lèse-majesté. Convinced now that he would not get an impartial hearing, he took the advice of friends and crossed the Belgian border in November, 1844, before the intended arrest could be made. A so-called "Steckbrief" was issued against Heinzen, but he immediately replied by another "Steckbrief," in which he gave his motives for his previous acts, and severely criticized the existing conditions with passionate eloquence. This, of course, only endangered his position all the more, but Heinzen was not the man to be influenced by considerations of his own personal safety, and from this time on he devoted all of his energies, at least as far as Germany was concerned, to the cause of the revolutionary propaganda.

In Brussels he awaited the decision of the court, and when he learned in March, 1845, that he had been convicted on the charge of treason, he did not feel safe even in this free state, fearing that Prussia would either request his extradition from the Belgian government, or attempt to secure his person through secret spies. He decided therefore to make his es-

cape while it was still possible. With Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had come to the same conclusion, he made the wearisome trip to Switzerland, which had been the destination of many refugees before him.

His family, which had been living with relatives in Heidelberg during his stay in Brussels, joined him, and they made Zürich their home. Heinzen now became the leader in a vigorous campaign for a revolution in Germany. Freiligrath, Ruge, Herwegh and Julius Fröbel were his most influential allies in this endeavor. Together they founded a quarterly publication, "The Opposition," of which Heinzen was the chief editor. He was the author, furthermore, of numerous "Flugschriften," pamphlets, which he always managed to smuggle into Germany despite the vigilant eyes of the police.

Regarding this period in his life, Heinzen tells us in his biography: "I never felt prouder in my life than this time, when I, as a single individual, could offer resistance to this mighty power, before which seventy millions trembled. I did not delude myself with the idea that I would be able to cause a revolution through the mere publication of revolutionary pamphlets; nor did I have any inkling of the fact that it was to follow so swiftly. But I had hopes that the servile Germans would eventually become rebellious through the reckless expression of my revolutionary opinions, and that my example could not but make followers. I wanted to carry the audacity of my language so far that there could be no other possibility but drastic action. A people will finally learn to desire and to do, what it has learned to think and to feel. At the same time I intended to incite the reactionary party to a blind rage, so that they themselves would call for resistance by force through their repressive measures. A revolutionary conspiracy, or the organization for a definite act, was out of the question. I only wanted to shape the thoughts and feelings by spiritual and psychological means, and to prepare them, so that they could utilize the proper opportunity for a general rising, the impulse to which is usually given by the reaction itself. An activity of this kind, continued for years, cannot re-

main without results, and I am still convinced that a single writer, who can reach an oppressed people from a place where his safety is insured, is able to cause the downfall of any reaction."[11]

"The Opposition," which was really published by Leske in Darmstadt, but which appeared nominally in Mannheim, was soon suppressed by the police. Instead, Heinzen issued anonymously in Zürich, a new paper, "Der Teutsche Tribun." But before long the style was recognized as that of Heinzen, and the Prussian government protested against it to the authorities at Zürich. The permit for his residence in Zürich was extended to a period of only six more months, with the condition that no more pamphlets be issued, no matter where published. But this condition was disregarded by Heinzen, and a great number of satires continued to be distributed in Germany. Now the conservative party in Zürich became alarmed, and most of the leading newspapers in Switzerland condemned Heinzen and his policy. When finally the Bavarian Government added its protest to that of Prussia, Heinzen was compelled to leave Zürich. His attempts to settle in Bern and other places failed, and so he decided in 1847 to emigrate to America.

Through the Duke of Braunschweig, who issued the "Deutsche Zeitung" in London, in which he reprinted most of Heinzen's bitter criticisms, Heinzen was also made acquainted with Wilhelm von Eichthal. The latter was editor of the "Schnellpost" in New York, and by reprinting many of the "Flugschriften," had interested the Germans in America in the support of revolutionary propaganda. When Heinzen's position became untenable in Switzerland, Wilhelm von Eichthal invited him to come to New York and assist him in editing the "Schnellpost." Thus Heinzen departed from Switzerland, and in January, 1848, he arrived in New York. Eichthal was, however, no more among the living when Heinzen arrived, but an enthusiastic reception had been prepared for him by the Germans in New York. As Heinzen was wholly without means, a friend had purchased the "Schnellpost" for him before

[11]Erlebtes, II, 108 ff.

his arrival. With Ivan Tissowski, the former revolutionary dictator of Krakau, as co-editor, Heinzen immediately set up an extremely radical program. His one aim and desire was a revolution in Germany, and to this he devoted all his energies. Whoever did not agree with his opinions was unmercifully criticized. Thus he soon became estranged from a number of influential German liberals in New York who were opposed to such drastic revolutionary methods. Heinzen knew no compromises, and considered all those his enemies who did not go to the extremes which he advocated. Ridicule and sarcasm were the weapons with which he fought for his project.

Heinzen did not limit himself to affairs in Germany, but also applied his extreme principles to American conditions, condemning in sweeping terms the policies of the various political parties. To counteract these evil tendencies he wanted to found a new radical party which was to carry out his high ideals, but he found few receptive ears for such an undertaking. He was told that he was still "too green" in the country to have a valid judgment in its affairs, and was simply ignored. Heinzen was not slow to take revenge for this failure by scathing articles in his paper on the stupidity of the Germans in America. Thus in a few weeks he had made a host of enemies and only a very few friends. Even with the socialists, who had welcomed him as their saviour, he had a disagreement, as well as with the laboring classes and the communists.

While in the midst of this agitation, the steamship Cambria suddenly brought the news on March 18th, 1848, of the flight of Louis Philippe and the establishment of a Provisional Government in France. The excitement in New York knew no bounds, and meetings were held everywhere in honor of the event. Heinzen writes: "I count this day the happiest which I have experienced in America. What excitement, what hopes, what a satisfaction for the faith in a great idea."[12] He wanted to return to Europe immediately, for he was confident that a

[12]Erlebtes, II, p. 196.

revolution in Germany would follow, but he had not even ten dollars. Upon issuing a proclamation in the "Schnellpost," calling for funds to support a similar revolution in Germany, he received a small sum of money, and when the "Cambria" returned on March 27th, Heinzen sailed with it.

Arriving in London a few weeks later, he found the same excitement there among the Germans. After a few days' stay with Freiligrath, he went to Geneva via Paris, where he found his family penniless as always, but taken care of by friends. He had expected to be elected a member of the Frankfort Parliament, but things had meanwhile come to such a pass that all hopes were lost for the Radicals. Hearing of the formation of a revolutionary army in Baden under the command of Hecker, he changed his plans and joined the latter. Having preached revolution for so long a time, he now felt it to be his duty to put his theories into practice, especially as the opportunity had presented itself. But Heinzen and Hecker could not agree, and when the attempted rising became an ignominious failure, they parted as bitter enemies.

Heinzen hereupon joined Struve and Karl Blind in Strassburg as a member of the "committee for the further propagation of the revolution," but this committee was dissolved by a commissioner of Lamartine, who did not hesitate to use force in order to effect the dissolution. Heinzen decided to return to Switzerland, and to carry on the agitation by means of his powerful pen, but his embittered tone of speech caused his expulsion from most of the cantons. Hoping to find security in his former place of refuge, Geneva, he went there, but the Confederate Council now requested his expulsion from the whole domain of Switzerland, and President Fazy was only too willing to execute this command. Nevertheless Heinzen managed to pass the winter in Geneva secretly, in the house of a friend, the scholar Galeer.

When the revolution broke out anew, however, in the Palatinate and in Baden, in the spring of 1849, Heinzen immediately departed for Karlsruhe to offer his assistance. But his participation was to be even more of a failure than in the pre-

vious year. Whereas he had only clashed with Hecker in the first year, he now came into conflict with almost all the leaders, with Brentano, Peter, Struve, Willich and Sigel. As a result he was condemned to remain in a state of sorrowful inactivity. Under the auspices of the publisher Hoff, he now established a "literary bureau," the object of which was to furnish leading articles for the different democratic papers. Embittered as he was, these articles were more of the nature of satirical criticism rather than an enthusiastic encouragement of the revolutionary movement. The rapid advance of the Prussians soon put an end to the whole affair, and Heinzen was again obliged to flee to Switzerland for protection.

With Struve and Mazzini he began to publish another revolutionary journal called "Der Völkerbund," but only one copy appeared. The authorities again became alarmed at the great number of refugees who were pouring into Switzerland from all sides, and requested a number of the leaders, among them Heinzen, to leave the country. Heinzen refused, on the grounds of having no money, and it was therefore decided to pay his expenses for transportation to America. But Heinzen still had hopes of another revolution and protested against being deported to America. His destination was therefore changed to England.

Arriving in London, Heinzen lost none of his enthusiasm for the revolution, and immediately looked for ways and means to continue his literary activity. But writing an article was easier than publishing it. The Duke of Braunschweig finally consented to print his pamphlet, "Die Lehren der Revolution." Its appearance caused a great scandal in London, and the London Times, which branded him as a revolutionary monstrosity, even went so far as to request his expulsion. Although he was personally unmolested, he found it continually more difficult to gain a livelihood. With the help of Mazzini he scraped together enough money to enable him to emigrate to America for the second time, accompanied by his second wife and his children.

During his absence Heinzen had sent frequent contributions to the "Schnellpost," and at first they were read with great interest. But when the sarcastic condemnations of Hecker appeared, the friends became gradually estranged from him. This was Heinzen's bitter experience when he arrived in New York for the second time in October, 1850. When, a little later, he announced a lecture on the Revolution and the causes for its failure, only thirty-two people made their appearance. That no money could be made by lectures was evident and as there was no opportunity at present to engage in journalistic work, he was soon obliged to seek employment in the workshop of a friend. In 1851, when the "Völkerbund" had to be abandoned after the first issue, he was offered the editorship of the "Schnellpost" by the owner, and he gladly accepted. He continued his former independent and radical policy in the paper. But now the German-American press, which had ignored him formerly, began to attack him and, as we can imagine, Heinzen was not slow in replying. The new Radical Party, of which he was to be the leader, was made the subject of many editorials. Although his hopes were not realized, he managed to start a Democratic Society among the newly immigrated Germans with the express object "to reform the United States and to revolutionize Europe." Besides the formation of an army for the next European war, Heinzen also had a remedy for American conditions in a comprehensive platform, from which the following sentences are quoted as illustrations of his advanced ideas:

"It is the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all those places which are under its exclusive jurisdiction. We are opposed to further slave states or slave territories. The building of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is not to be left to private individuals, but should be undertaken by Congress. We demand universal suffrage without distinction of race or color. We demand the election of all officials by the direct vote of the people. The recall of representatives shall be established by law. We consider it the duty of the legislature to limit the time of work to eight,

or at most, to ten hours a day for adults, and to five hours for children."[13]

It is not to be denied that Heinzen also made many demands in this platform which bore evidence of his unfamiliarity with American conditions. But on the whole it created a sensation, and even greater opposition, which, however, only incited Heinzen to more emphatic denunciations.

In September, 1851, Heinzen severed his connections with the "Schnellpost," and with the aid of friends, was able to establish the "New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung," which, however, was discontinued in December of the same year for financial reasons. The next venture was a weekly paper, the "Janus," which, after a year, suffered the same fate. During the summer of 1852 Heinzen made a tour through the United States, speaking on some radical themes in Philadelphia, Washington, Cincinnati, Dayton, Toledo, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee. But at the end of the trip his treasury showed a deficit, and his health had also suffered considerably.

His next paper was the "Herold des Westens" in Louisville. It was destroyed by fire on December 3rd, 1853, three months after Heinzen had become its editor. In the same year the "Pioneer" came into existence, which appeared first in Louisville, then in Cincinnati, and then in New York. Since 1859 it appeared in Boston.

The "Pionier" was to be the crowning work of Heinzen's life. It was indeed a pioneer in the propagation of radicalism, and in it Heinzen expressed his ideas regarding the inalienable rights of man and of nations freely and unreservedly. Fearlessly and ceaselessly he devoted himself to the realization of his high ideals: free human beings, free nations, and above all, a free German Fatherland. In the "Pionier," he also expressed his opinions regarding German literature, one of the subjects of this essay. The "Pionier" continued to appear until December, 1879, when a paralytic stroke forced Heinzen to take leave of his readers. Finally, after a prolonged period of sickness, he died on November 12th, 1880,

[13]Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 162 ff.

and was buried on November 15th. A great number of friends, men and women, were present at the ceremony to pay him a last tribute of honor. The "Turnverein" of Boston, and the "Orpheus" glee club rendered a few hymns, and S. R. Köhler, editor of the American Art Review, delivered an oration in German, while Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney delivered one in the English language.

Heinzen was without doubt one of the great men in German-American history. H. A. Rattermann gives him the following characterization: "He was a giant in mind and in body, and he prosecuted all of his endeavors with the most inflexible energy. For him there existed no authority, no limitations. Popular favor and friendship were alike disregarded in his activities; tolerance was unknown to him, when his own opinions came into consideration. Far removed from the possibility of corruption, he sat in judgment over the social and political conditions, and like Zeus he hurled his polemical thunderbolts against all friends or enemies. A despot, he maintained the infallibility of his own opinions; and woe to him who dared to gainsay him. There was a certain self-glorification in his manners, which he always showed. But in regard to his material welfare he sacrificed everything, even to privation, in order to satisfy his ambition. Nevertheless he was a character such as seldom appears in history, and a thinking person who is able to rise above the ordinary in this world, will always admire the greatness of Heinzen and appreciate his ceaseless striving."[14]

Among the English-speaking Americans Heinzen also had his admirers, although his activities were restricted almost exclusively to the German language. As an example of the high esteem in which he was held, I will quote the words of George Cheney, which are taken from a lecture which he delivered on Heinzen in Paine National Hall in Boston:

"Karl Heinzen sleeps the dreamless sleep of eternal rest. He lies today beneath the forest trees he loved. Shall I say he? Nay, he is not there. He, like one of old, has risen, not

[14] Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241.

in the flesh, nor that I know of in spiritual consciousness. I do not say he has not, because I know not all the secrets of life, much more of death. But he is not hidden within the tomb. Friends may plant flowers there, and water them with tears; a marble monument may mark the place of his rest; but when the flowers are all dead, when the trees have fallen beneath the axe or the hand of time, when the marble monument has crumbled back into dust, and the very place is blotted from the memory of man, Karl Heinzen will live on with an ever-widening influence in the thoughts and loves of men. It matters but little whether his name live or die: the work for truth and humanity he wrought shall endure while men exist. Things are not what they seem. The great of this age are not those who are feasted, and run after by the crowd, but the patient pioneers, who with giant blows are making a clearing in the forest of superstition, causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose, and for the sickening, deadly malaria of piety that saps the manhood of our age, bringing the health of self-reliance and the joy of self-respect. They are the men and women who, through the long night watches of the world's ignorance, keep brightly flaming the torch of thought, and so are constantly widening the skirts of light, and making the struggle with darkness narrower. When man comes to his own; when each child born into the world finds all the avenues of truth open to his exploring mind; when art gladdens every eye with its cheering ray; when right and justice between man and man are the only gods; when the State in its devotion to the happiness of all, is but the outward expression of the best instincts of humanity; when the heaven men strive to win is on earth, and the highest honor is to be a man;—then, but not before, will be learned the full life and lesson of Karl Heinzen."[15]

[15]Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241 ff.

CHAPTER II.

HEINZEN'S POETRY AND LITERARY ACTIVITY.

Karl Heinzen's name will not live or die with his poetry. His greatness does not depend on single literary productions, but upon his mighty personality, his inflexible will, his high ideals of a free humanity, for which he fought with such admirable persistency. If he had no other claims for recognition and immortality except his poetry, he would long since have been forgotten. Nevertheless it will not be out of place here to devote a few pages to the consideration of his verse, as it will add to the more complete picture of the man, and reveal to us some of his ideals and aspirations. The desire to write poetry manifested itself very early in Heinzen, and already during his attendance at the Gymnasium in Cleve he was engaged in writing verses, mostly satires at the expense of his teachers. His literary studies at the University of Bonn increased his desire to achieve distinction as a poet. As early as 1827, when he was only eighteen years old, he issued his first manifesto, criticizing in no uncertain terms the shallowness and imitativeness in the poetry of his contemporaries, and setting up a program which he expected to adopt. The poem, "Ermahnung eines jungen Poeten," is modelled after the "Knittelverse" of Hans Sachs, and the iambic verse of Goethe's Faust. In it Heinzen complains of the lack of originality in the productions of his time. One regards Goethe as his master and is bent on approximating his manner as closely as possible:

> "Will Künstlerleben so recht göthiglich umfassen
> Und sich in seiner Sprach' und Styl
> So recht gemächlich göthisch gehen lassen."

Another seeks his ideal in bombastic verses and rhetorical flights, and thus hopes to have rivalled Schiller, but

> "Der Schiller stürmt zwar in den Versen,
> Doch in dem Versemacher nicht."

The third is striving to write in the form of Klopstock's odes:

"Sein Nachbar brummt Klopstockisch-odisch,
Dasz euch der Kopf wird antipodisch."

He summarizes the whole artificiality, with its empty phrases and dead verses:

"So plagt sich jeder was er kann,
Es ist ein Jammer anzusehen;
Nach Unnatur, nach Prunk strebt jedermann,
Wahrheit will keiner üben und verstehen.
Sie phantasieren höll'-und himmelwärts,
Und sind zufrieden, sind nur Worte gleich zur Hand,
Und redet ihr Verstand, so spricht er ohne Herz,
Und redet gar ihr Herz, verlier'n sie den Verstand.
Nicht überdacht, was sie gefühlt,
Und nicht gefühlt, was sie gedacht,
So ist's wie man mit Worten spielt,
So ist's wie man Gedichte macht."

Heinzen scorns to follow in the footsteps of the great masters, yet he feels that he is a child of his time, and that his powers of creation are limited. Therefore he decides to dedicate himself to satire, confident that where there is so little to praise he will find so much more to denounce:

"So steht's nun mit der jungen Poesie,
Der ich geweiht mein bürgerlich Genie.
Wie bring ich Licht und Rath darein?
Nachäffer will ich werden nie,
Und doch beherrschet mich die Zeit wie sie;
Zum Schaffen reicht nicht Phantasie,
Zu Oden nicht der Schwung allein,
Die Elegie macht mir und anderen Pein,
Und dennoch musz gedichtet sein.
Ich denke, die Satyre ist
Doch auch, um ein Genie zu adeln,
Und wo nichts mehr zu loben ist,
Da gibt es um so mehr zu tadeln.
Drum sei's! Die Elegie ist mir fatal,
Dem Wortgepräng' und Schwung will ich entsagen,
So werd' ich dieser Narrenwelt einmal
Recht frank und derb die Wehrheit sagen."[10]

Considering that this was written in the same year in which Heine's "Buch der Lieder" and "Reisebilder" appeared, we might almost regard Heinzen as one of the forerunners of Young Germany. Heinzen evidently felt that a new period was beginning to dawn in German literature, and he here ex-

[10]Gedichte, pp. 47-52.

presses the theory which Heine and "Young Germany" were to put to practical use later. The battle-cries of the new Storm and Stress period are here all clearly enunciated: the disgust at the slavish imitations of Goethe and Schiller, the craving for something new and original, the demand to speak openly and truthfully on all matters, the tendency to satire.

In another poem, entitled "Denken und Poesie," Heinzen expresses similar opinions. True poetry is not produced by cold calculation of the head, but it is the spontaneous expression of the soul. Only the artless, childlike soul is surrounded by the veil of poetry, a gift of heaven, and not a commodity to be bought:

"O kindliche Seele,
Unschuld'ger Natursinn,
Verschwund'nes Geschenk einer fernen Zeit!
Nur du kennst das Glück,
Vom Wissen, vom Denken
Vergebens gesucht.
Du kindliche Seele, von Genien bewacht,
Nur dich sucht das Glück,
Denn du suchst es noch nicht.
Von Träumen gewoben,
Umspinnt dich der rosige Flor,
Nur dir bringt die Dichtung
Den Himmel ins Herz,
Und ohne den Roszquell,
Bist du nur ihr Liebling."

What an ideal conception of poetry, what a eulogy of the simple, natural, unaffected poems of the great masters like Goethe and Mörike! But Heinzen does not find this spontaneity in his contemporaries:

"Ich höre, Dichter, in deinem Gedicht
Nicht singen deine Lust,
Nicht seufzen deinen Schmerz;
Sagen hör' ich dich nur zu mir,
Dasz du mir vorsingst deine Lust,
Und vorseufzest deinen Schmerz."

And he complains with great emotion:

"Ach, keine freie
Blume der Natur,
Musz selbst die Dichtung

Die Tochter werden
Der mühsam treibenden Kunst?"[17]

We see that Heinzen has clearly grasped and expressed the essential difference between genuine and counterfeit poetry, a distinction which will be valid for all time. Real poetry must be the expression of the personal experience, it must be the result of an inner impulse, and cannot be manufactured according to given rules.

Let us now consider to what extent Heinzen reached this ideal in his own poetry. During the next fifteen years he produced a great number of poems, the voyage to Batavia and his experiences there, the attachment to his bride, and the death of his wife, giving the occasion for most of them. Even during his service as tax-collector in the Prussian bureaucracy he occasionally found the inspiration to write, and in 1841 a collection of his poems was published in Cologne. His contemporaries evidently thought very highly of his achievements, and as eminent a critic as Wolfgang Menzel, the "literary pope" in Stuttgart, devoted two pages to a review of Heinzen's poems. He is very favorably impressed with them and considers them sufficient proof of his poetic talent. To quote his own words:

"So findet sich hier denn manches Gedicht, bei dem wir die Freude haben, zu fühlen, dasz es in schweren und leichten Stunden frei entstanden und nicht gemacht sei. Es weht darin ein Hauch des Lebens, bald ein rauher und kalter, bald aber auch ein zarter, von fremdartigen Düften trunkener Hauch, der uns überzeugt, der Dichter hat Wirkliches erlebt, er hat nicht blosz hinter seinem Fenster Phantasieblumen aufgekränkelt."[18]

As one of the most characteristic and beautiful poems of the whole collection, Menzel quotes fragments from "Die Musik," which remind him of Hölderlin's muse. As an illustration I will cite only the first eight lines:

[17]Gedichte, pp. 53-58.

[18]Literaturblatt, Feb. 7, 1842.

"Empfindung selt'ner Lust! Ich bin allein
Und fühle doch so freundlich mich erheitert,
Die Brust beklommen von der Sehnsucht Pein,
Sie fühlt sich doch so sorgenlos erweitert;
Ich bin in keinen Edentraum verzückt,
Und dennoch lös't das Wirkliche die Bande,
Ich bin, wie von der Liebe Lust beglückt,
Und doch so fern von dem geliebten Lande."

It is difficult to understand how Menzel was able to detect any similarity in lines like these to the beautiful and touching verses of Hölderlin. They appear to be more the product of the head than of the heart. There is an atmosphere of the study, of calculation, about them. More genuine feeling is expressed in the poems dedicated to his wife Luise, when her early death had moved him deeply:

"Nichts mehr zu haben
In dieser trüben, verödeten Welt,
Nichts mehr von deinem Sonnenherzen,
Nichts mehr von deiner Flammenliebe,
Nichts mehr von dem, was Luise hiesz."[10]

On the whole, his poems do not breathe that spirit of innermost experience which is so characteristic of true poetry. What could be more devoid of poetic qualities than the following comparisons:

"Du bist der Hauch, der durch die Zweige flüstert,
Du bist der Strahl, der durch die Schatten bricht,
Du bist die Nacht, die mein Asyl umdüstert,
Du bist der Funke von dem Morgenlicht.

Du bist die Ruh', die in den Wäldern schweiget,
Du bist der Geist, der in den Lüften weht,
Du bist der Duft, der aus den Blumen steiget,
Du bist die Blume selbst, die nie vergeht."[11]

And thus he continues with twenty more lines, all of the same pattern.

Heinzen himself recognized, however, that odes and elegies were above his powers and inclinations, and therefore he selected the satire and polemic form of poetry as more congenial to his nature. He is proud of being a born revolu-

[10]Gedichte, pp. 2 and 13.

tionist, in opposition to existing conditions, and an enemy of all compromises:

> "Was du liebst, für das muszt du dein Leben lassen,
> Was du hassest, muszt du gründlich, tötlich hassen.
> Weg die Spreu, die vor dem Wind der Laune stiebt,
> Nur der Halbe weisz nicht, ob er hasst ob liebt."

There is only one alternative, tyranny or freedom:

> "Freiheit fragt euch: wollt ihr mich verlassen?
> Tyrannei euch: wollt ihr mich nicht hassen?
> Eins der beiden müszt ihr wählen recht und schlicht,
> Einen Mittelweg, beim Teufel, gibt es nicht."[30]

The only way to secure this freedom is to fight for it. To beg for it is unworthy of a free man:

> "Wer da bettelt um Liebe, beweis't, dasz er keine verdient,
> Und um Freiheit und Recht bettelt nur, wer sie nicht kennt.
> Wer nicht den Muth hat zu fordern, der hat nicht das Recht zu erlangen;
> Kampf ist das Mittel des Rechts, Sieg ist der Freiheit Beginn:
> Hohn werd' allen zu Theil, die als Freund behandeln und Gönner
> Jeden Räuber des Rechts hinter dem Nimbus der Macht.
> Feind ist, Feind bis zum Tod, wer das Menschtum raubet dem Menchen,
> Unmensch ist er, Barbar: Nieder mit jedem Barbar."[31]

Heinzen was destined to have the bitter experience of knowing that he stood almost alone in the fight for the realization of his ideals. The great mass of the people, for whom he carried on his struggle, was not in sympathy with him. Like Ibsen in the "Enemy of the People," he has come to the conclusion that the real hindrance to the achievement of his ideals is not the small yet powerful ruling class of despots, but the great mass of conservative and narrow-minded subjects, who have not the courage and the desire to throw off the yoke which oppresses them. Like a true prophet he feels that only after his death will mankind come to realize the validity of his doctrines, that in the present life he must suffer the loneliness which is the fate of all great men:

[30]Gedichte, p. 139 ff.

[31]Gedichte, p. 147.

> "Was And're freut, es ist für dich verloren,
> Und was dein Ziel ist, will die Menge nicht,
> Sie wird es wollen erst auf deinem Grabe.
> So lebst du nur im Reiche des Gedankens,
> Du wirst ein Fremdling stets im Leben sein,
> Und deine Wirklichkeit folgt deinem Tode."

In his detestation of the mass he sometimes approaches Nietzsche by the forceful epithets applied to them:

> "Und nur, wer es verachtet, wird mit Künsten
> Es gängeln, das Alltagsgeschlecht der Menschen."

But he is determined to remain firm, to carry on the fight for truth and freedom. Above all he finds the greatest consolation in remaining true to himself, even if he should stand against all the world:

> "Und wenn du Keinem auch gefällst, sich selbst
> Stets treu sein, ist der höchste Ruhm des Mannes.
> So stehst du nun gerüstet und getröstet;
> Was kommen mag, dich wirft's nicht von der Bahn.
> Nur eine Qual gibt's, die des Trost's entbehrt:
> Es ist der Schmerz, dasz immer für die groszen
> Gedanken sich zu klein zeigt dies Geschlecht.
> Wo will'ger Sinn ist, mangelt der Verstand,
> Und wo Verstand ist, fehlt der will'ge Sinn.
> Verständnis, Adel, Grösze, Schönheit, Herz—
> Nur dies, so denkst du, macht den Menschen, und
> Doch ist's so selten in dem Schwarm der Menschen,
> Dasz deiner Brust sich stets entringt der Ruf:
> Wie wenig Menschen in der groszen Menschheit."[23]

In this powerful and sweeping denunciation Heinzen comes very near the condemnation hurled against the masses by Hölderlin and Nietzsche. Heinzen also resembles the latter in his hate of Christianity. He once said that Christianity was the religion of the flogged, the same thought that Nietzsche was to express a little later. This scorn and detestation for Christianity also becomes evident in some of his poems. Only a scoundrel and a Christian will make friends with those who hate him and molest him with their stupidity:

> "Es ist keine Kunst,
> Die Menschen zu lieben,
> So lang ihre Gunst
> Dir möglich geblieben.

[23] Gedichte, 117 ff.

Doch wenn dir nur Hasz
Und Dummheit begegnen,
So ist es kein Spasz,
Die auch noch zu segnen.

Das Weiseste ist,
Sie dann zu verlachen;
Nur ein Lump und ein Christ
Wird zu Freunden sie machen."[22]

Heinzen is also the author of a great number of epigrams, which are remarkable chiefly for their bitter sarcasm, and their merciless derision of his opponents. The philistine is again made the butt of his ridicule:

"Wo mit Sonnen und Sternen der Dichter sich leuchtet im Weltall,
Tappt mit dem Talglichtstumpf plump der Philister umher."[23]

More than once in his life Heinzen acted on the principle:

"Zu erfreuen seine Freunde
Ist die schönste Freud' im Leben,
Doch zu ärgern seine Feinde
Ist der gröszte Spasz daneben."[24]

The inconsistency between the poetry and the life of the poets calls forth his anger repeatedly:

Derweil im Vers ihr das Gemeine richtet,
Ist es Gemeinheit, was ihr tut und strebet.
Wenn ihr nicht sucht zu leben was ihr dichtet,
So sucht auch nur zu dichten, was ihr lebet."[25]

His ideal is the man who will put his theories to practice:

"Halbling ist und leicht zu wandeln,
Wer nur Verse machen kann,
Aber der Poet im Handeln
Ist der ideale Mann."

He also gives his opinion of the problems that face the Germans in America, ridiculing at the same time those of his countrymen who had lost their German national consciousness and self-respect:

"Sich amerikanisieren
Heiszt ganz sich verlieren;

[22]Gedichte, pp. 119 and 178.

[24]Gedichte, pp. 214, 178.

> Als Teutscher sich treu geblieben
> Heiszt Ehre und Bildung lieben;
> Doch lieber indianisch,
> Als teutsch-amerikanisch."

It was not through his poetry and epigrams, but mainly through his writings in prose that Heinzen fought for the realization of his ideals, and for these he deserves to be remembered. We have seen in the last chapter that with the appearance of the article on the "Prussian Bureaucracy" he became an outspoken revolutionist. This event also determined the character of his subsequent literary activity. As an agitator of revolutionary measures, and as an active champion of the cause in the field of battle, the poetic form was inadequate to express his revolutionary ideas, his utter dissatisfaction with the existing regime, and his program for reforms. Only at intervals he wrote poems, his energies now were chiefly devoted to inciting the public mind to revolt. Ceaselessly he was engaged in the publication and dissemination of pamphlets to achieve his end. In all of them he professed his republican principles boldly and fearlessly. Some of them were so extremely radical in content and in language, that even the majority of the more conservative liberals turned from him. Relentlessly and unmercifully he continued to pour out his stinging sarcasms on everybody who dared to oppose him.

The same characteristics can be observed in the various newspapers which he edited in America, especially in the "Pionier." Most of his articles are written in an excellent style. Heinzen had a masterly control of the German language. The sentence structure is unusually good, and he is always clear and to the point. He has a great choice of expression, and is able to speak with such impressiveness and force, as is seldom found. A few characteristic selections from the "Pionier" will bear this out. In the following excerpt he inveighs against those materially minded persons for whom the accumulation of wealth is not a means to an end, but an end in itself:

[33]Gedichte, p. 198.

"Am stupidesten, verächtlichsten, und unausstehlichsten sind aber Diejenigen, welche glauben, durch den bloszen Besitz jenes Tauschmittels Alles ersetzen oder verdrängen zu können, was dem Menschen erst eigentlich Wert verleiht; jene Protzen, welche in Bewusztsein ihres Dollarbesitzes mit Verachtung auf Geist, Bildung und Charakterwert herabblicken; jene rohen Philister, welche sich erhaben über Goethe und Humboldt stellen würden, wenn dieselben weniger Geld basäszen als sie; jene Pfennigaristokraten, welche mit einem Plus von einigen Dollars sich für eine andere Menschenart halten lernen, als ihre Nebenmenschen, die eine Banknote weniger in der Tasche haben; jene Elenden, die dich mit Geringschätzung behandeln, oder meiden, wenn sie deinen Beutel leer sehen, und vor dir kriechen und dich verfolgen, wenn du eine volle Börse ziehst; jene Wichte, die vor Stolz platzen, wenn sie 'Geld gemacht' haben, und zu Speichelleckern werden, wenn ihnen ein rächender Teufel den Säckel abgeschnitten; jene Moralschwärmer, denen kein Mittel der Berreicherung zu schlecht ist, die aber jede Schlechtigkeit anderen aufbürden, welche den Vorteil des einen nicht mit dem Nachteil des anderen wollen erkaufen lassen; jene fühlenden Seelen, die in Tränen zerflieszen, wenn sie einen Rechenfehler gemacht haben, aber mit einem Herzen von Stein dem fremden Unglück nichts zu bieten haben als 'help yourself'; kurz, jene gemein und niedrig denkenden Menschen, die nur Sinn für den Dollar, nur Respekt vor dem Dollar, nur Wert durch den Dollar, nur Freude an dem Dollar haben."[31]

A typical illustration of his sarcastic outbursts is the following reply to the charge of fanaticism. It is at the same time a contribution to the question of slavery, against which he carried on a rigorous campaign:

"In Amerika heiszen die Gegensätze: Sklaverei und Freiheit. Nenne die Sklaverei einen Segen, erkläre sie für ein Erfordernis der Republik, mache sie zu einem nationalen Institut, breite sie aus mit Feuer und Schwert, schleppe Schiffsladungen von Unglücklichen aus Afrika hierher, erziehe sie mit

[31] T. R., N. F., Vol. I, 80 f.

Peitsche und Folter zum Arbeitsvieh, verbrenne sie lebendig, wenn sie noch einen Rest von Menschlichkeit bewahren, um sich gegen deine Unmenschlichkeit zu empören, reisze die Kinder von der Brust der Mutter, um sie einem Kannibalen zu verhandeln, verkaufe deine eignen Kinder und verschwelge den Ertrag in Gelagen, die dich zu neuen Verbrechen gegen Menschlichkeit und Natur stimulieren—dann bist du ein Patriot, ein Freund der Union, eine Stütze der Ordnung, ein Liebling der Regierung, ein Mann des Volks, eine Zierde der Republik. Aber raffe dich auf im Zorn deiner Menschenehre, in der Empörung deines Rechtsgefühls, verdamme diesen ganzen Zustand als antirepublikanisch, als barbarisch, als infam, und schwöre denen, die ihn schaffen und unterhalten, Feindschaft und Verderben, wie sie es verdienen—und wie die moralische Logik, die Nemesis der Entwicklung, es ihnen unfehlbar bringen wird—so magst du dich als ausgestoszen betrachten aus der Gesellschaft der 'honetten Leute,' du bist ein Feind des Vaterlandes, ein gefährlicher Mensch, ein 'roter Republikaner,' ein 'Fanatiker.' "[27]

Space will not permit a more comprehensive account of Heinzen's literary activity, but in order to convey a vivid idea of the variety of his labors, a list of his publications is added at the end of this paper.

CHAPTER III.

Heinzen's Philosophical and Critical Views.

In considering Heinzen as a literary critic we must not suppose that he made a profession of literary criticism. He did not write newspaper reviews for the information and edification of his readers, nor did he occupy a chair of literary criticism in some higher school of learning. Heinzen was anything but a conventional sort of a critic. He does not attempt to secure an objective point of view, but formulates his opinions in an entirely subjective manner, without regard to the conventional standards of judgment. As we have seen above,

[27]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, Vol. I, p. 205

Heinzen had dedicated his life to the cause of truth, justice and freedom for all mankind. In his life-long struggle for the realization of these ideals he passed judgment on the political, social and economic conditions of his countrymen, and later also on those of his newly adopted fatherland, America, Similarly he also subjected the literature of his time to a scathing and severe criticism, accepting or rejecting it, lauding or condemning it, according to whether it was in agreement with, or in opposition to his cherished ideals. That we should find many one-sided views among criticisms of this kind, which are based entirely on a subjective attitude towards literature, is only to be expected. Nor is it my object to vindicate Heinzen's views in every case. I merely wish to give an account of his criticisms, and to seek to explain them with regard to his philosophical and critical views. And as these views are really the determining factor in his judgments, and his criticisms merely the application of these general conceptions to the literary productions of his time, it is necessary that we first form a more definite conception of his philosophical and critical principles.

Heinzen himself designates his attitude towards the universe as that of a materialist. He flatly denies the existence of spirit as independent of the material world, and considers matter to be the fundamental constituent or ultimate fact of the universe. All phenomena of consciousness are reduced to transformations of material molecules. "Matter and spirit, or body and spirit, are only two aspects of one and the same thing. Applied to man, these expressions can no more mean two different beings than in nature. The spirit in man is only a product of the bodily organism, the spirit, therefore, is as much material as the body. It is a material activity like electricity or magnetism, which only eludes our senses."[28] Similarly Heinzen makes the following distinction between Materialism and Spiritualism: "Matter is that which exists without regard to human thoughts, while the 'spiritual' (in the sense of the Spiritualists) exists without regard to matter. Accordingly materialism is that philosophical view which has

[28]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, p. 26.

as its basis that which exists in itself and through itself; it is the doctrine of that which is, of the real; while the basis of spiritualism is that which men have thought or imagined. Materialism does not therefore reject that which has been thought, but it accepts it only as a product of matter, and considers it only in connection and agreement with the same. In regard to the 'Spirit' one could make the following distinction: Spiritualism lets the mother come into existence through the child, materialism lets the child come into existence through the mother."[29]

This materialistic view of Heinzen was by no means new or original. As F. A. Lange points out in his History of Materialism, it is as old as philosophy itself. In ancient times as well as through the Middle Ages and up to modern times, the dualism between matter and spirit was always a fruitful topic for the speculations of the philosophers, and philosophical materialism was held on the one side, as well as philosophical idealism on the other. But towards the middle of the nineteenth century materialism as a philosophical view came to predominate, and almost drove idealism from the field. The whole character of the time was very propitious for materialism. The idealism of the two previous generations, with its exclusive speculations about the other world, had gradually lost its grip, and the problems of this present world again became the basis of all consideration. Not the least factor in this change of attitude was the industrial revolution which was going on in Germany at this time. Factories were built everywhere, railroads were now connecting the different parts of the country and facilitated the transportation of the products. Cities were springing up around the factories, and a large part of the rural population became urban. All of these momentous events emphasized very strongly the importance of this present life, and consequently the speculations turned from ultra-mundane to mundane affairs. The rise of materialism was also intimately bound up with the increased interest in the studies of natural science. The philosophical speculation had not solved the riddle of the universe,

[29]Teutscher Rad., Neue Folge, II, p. 124.

and it was evident that the deductive method would not lead to complete knowledge. The inductive method of exact science was expected to reach this goal. The external world was to be observed as closely as possible, a great number of observations and experiments were to be made, and only from facts gained in this way, were general laws to be formed. It was only at this time that the first laboratory of experimental chemistry was established, the laboratory at the University of Giessen, under the supervision of Justus von Liebig. Soon similar laboratories were installed at other universities, and the study of a natural science gradually came to occupy the first place. With the aid of the microscope and other instruments an insight was possible into a new, undreamed-of world of life, into the world of the most simple organisms, those consisting of only one cell. From all these observations a theory something like the following was built up: the whole world can be resolved into atoms, the last bearers of every physical action. This action is mechanical, and consists of movements and changes of the atoms and atom groups, and can be ascertained by laws. The body of man, of animals, and of plants, is only to be regarded as a large mechanism, in which the same laws and forces as in nature are present, and it thus can be explained and understood. All of these observations formed welcome material for the materialistic philosophy. In the works of Ludwig Feuerbach, Jakob Moleschott, and Ludwig Büchner, we find these ideas incorporated and worked over into a system of philosophy. In the works of these men, and from similar sources, Heinzen finds information and corroboration of his beliefs. All of his arguments in favor of materialism are based on the discoveries of science, the Goddess of Truth. Thus he points out that science has established the fact that matter is eternal, that even in the transformations caused by fire or by decay, not an atom is lost, but that it only enters a new combination, and appears in a different form."[30] Science has indisputably established that there is no matter without force, and no force without matter. There is no dif-

[30]Teutscher Rad., Neue Folge, I, p. 28.

ference between organic and inorganic nature.[31] Heinzen is also an enthusiastic disciple of the apostles of materialistic philosophy, of Feuerbach, Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott, whose books he read and studied with great eagerness. He quotes these men as authorities for his contentions. Thus Moleschott is quoted to prove his assertion that there is no difference between organic and inorganic nature.[33]. In another place he calls Moleschott "without doubt the most radical and talented of all modern natural scientists; the Feuerbach among the natural scientists or the physiological complement to Feuerbach."

These views Heinzen not only held for himself, but he sought to make converts for them in most of his writings, and he looked forward to the time when they would be universally accepted. And what are the advantageous results that he hoped to realize through the dissemination of these principles? The question whether or not the acceptance of materialism would be a gain, Heinzen says, is equal to the question, whether knowledge or ignorance, truth or untruth, is a gain.[32] In the acceptance of materialism lies the destruction of all vagueness and deception regarding our most important affairs, regarding the world and our station in it.[34]

Since matter is the only thing that exists, and spirit only exists as a product of matter, Heinzen accordingly denies the existence of any kind of a God, and openly professes himself an atheist. All the injustice in the world he considers to be the result of a mistaken notion regarding the origin, the preservation, and the future of the world. By creating an all-powerful God who rules the world, and who issues commands to its inhabitants, the priests have been able to secure power over their fellowmen. By playing upon their imagination with the prospect of a future life, where the obedient shall be rewarded and the disobedient shall be punished, they have been able to keep their fellowmen in subjection. This power has been shared by the rulers and despots, who base their

[31]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, pp. 28-31.

[32]Ibid., pp. 32, 26.

claim on divine commands. The people in subjection do not dare to rise in rebellion and shake off this oppressing yoke, because they are afraid of an avenging deity. They have for the most part nöt even a desire to free themselves from this oppression, because they are more concerned with their fate in the future world than in the present. If, however, Heinzen argues, these mistaken notions can be destroyed, if man can be made to see that matter is the only thing in existence, that the world has never been created by an outside agency, that it is in a constant state of evolution according to inherent laws, then also the prejudices instilled by the priests will fall away, men will come to realize that they themselves are the masters of their fate, and the golden age of freedom will begin to dawn. Herein we also find an explanation for Heinzen's burning hate of Christianity, and, in fact, all religions. "Down with the word religion as well as with the content of religion," he exclaims on one occasion.[33] In the name of Christianity more crimes and injustice have been committed than for any other cause, or through any other agency, but in scientific discoveries and the materialistic philosophy Christianity has found its doom. "Christianity has come to an end, and now begins humanity: humanity without religious phrases, but with non-religious rights."[36]

Heinzen very often uses the term "radicalism" almost synonymously with "materialism." Radicalism is for him simply the expresson of truth, and since in materialism he believes to have found the absolute truth, the terms cover each other. Radicalism means that attitude of mind which will subject all phenomena to reason and investigation, and then draw its conclusions without regard to any authority or tradition. "Radicalism will replace the rule of force by the free agreement of individuals who all have equal rights, it will replace faith by a knowledge of the true reality and its laws. Destroying all authority in heavenly as well as in earthly affairs, it reduces the freed man to the purely human sphere, and inquires of

[35]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, II, p. 552.

[36] Ibid., p. 105.

him: you, as a free man among free men, which morality will you adopt and what duties will you recognize? The answer will be simple: only a human morality and human duties, a morality which is in accordance with human nature, and duties which are in accordance with human rights."[34]

Although Heinzen is very much opposed to the idealistic philosophy, he is not therefore also opposed to ideal interests. On the contrary, his whole struggle is directed towards furthering these ideal interests, and only as a barrier to their realization does he denounce the idealistic philosophy. Nothing would be further removed from truth than the assertion that Heinzen recognizes only material interests, or that he considers the object of life to be merely a material, sensual enjoyment. Heinzen denied the existence and the validity of "spirit" only as independent of matter: he does not, however, maintain that the spiritual does not exist at all, but he does consider it as emanating from matter. "There is no more radical error than the assumption that the ideal or spiritual world will be destroyed if one makes it dependent upon the material world, or if one proves the identity of spirit and matter. All spirit is matter, and all matter is spirit, insofar as we understand by it in general a certain force inherent in matter, which under certain conditions will produce a feeling and a poem, as well as lightning or an electric current; which as a life force will produce a man, and as a physical force will produce a storm." Life is considered to be an interaction of physical and chemical processes in the organism, but "shall we consider feelings and thoughts as worthless, when produced by this interaction, because we have brought them back from a world of spirits to the sound basis of science? Will the ideal world be destroyed, if we prove it to be the product or rather a part of the material world, while hitherto it has been assumed that it produced, permeated and ruled the material world from above?"[35]

Frequently Heinzen uses the following comparison to illustrate his theory: "Nobody believes that the scent of a

[34]T. R. in Amerika, V. I, 7 f.

[35]T. R., N F., V. I, 34.

flower is a spirit, which has passed into or surrounds the flower. Everyone knows that this scent is merely a material action of particles of the flower upon our nerves of smell. But has the flower become worthless to us, because we know this? Do we love and value it less, because we do not commit the foolishness of considering its odor, which we can no more see than our soul, a spirit?"[36]

Heinzen is thus far removed from belittling the great influence which the ideal products, such as literature, music, and art, exert on the human race, only he considers these the blossom of materialism, and he loves the blossom more than the unclean root from which it has grown. Just as the gardener places the bulb in the ground in order to produce beautiful flowers, so Heinzen plants the bulb of materialism in men's hearts and minds in order to produce the ideal fruits of justice, freedom, and happiness for all men. He denounces those materialistic minded people, who are entirely devoid of higher interests and ideals, and who use the materialistic philosophy as an excuse for their vulgar desires and pleasures, just as severely as he condemns the idealistic philosophers and theologians. Thus he condemns the Communists. "They clothe this philosophy of degrading man to a mere animal, this doctrine of the trough and mud, this cult of bestiality, with all kinds of 'economic' phrases, and set up the doctrine that only 'interests', not 'ideals', determine and should determine men's actions. As if ideas did not represent interests. As if convictions did not demand satisfaction as summarily as bodily needs. Of course not for those who have no ideas and no convictions. Consequently these professors of stupidity, of vulgarity, of bestiality, must sweep out all humane conceptions, all science, all literature, all art, from the realm of human needs, and they let nothing remain except the tiresome industrial science of 'producing' for the sake of consuming'—the fist in the service of the stomach, the brainless beast."[37]

[36]Ibidem, 33.

[37]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 38.

Even Heinzen's conception of revolution was not merely forcible tearing down of existing institutions, a battle with cannons and guillotines, but a higher and nobler conception. He did not hesitate to advocate a revolution with fire and sword, but only when he considered it as the last possible means of securing the rights that were denied. As the world, according to science, was in a constant state of evolution, revolution was one of the instruments to accomplish this, but a revolution in the higher sense of progress, a revolution of the human spirit against everything that is antiquated, outworn, and unreasonable. "Revolution is life, in man as in nature, it is the future, it is the hope, it is the salvation, it is the poetry of the world, it is the striving of the spirit for the ideal of evolution, it is everything."[38]

That materialism does not mean the renunciation of what we usually term the higher interests of life, is sufficiently borne out by Heinzen's life. The gratification of his own personal desires was never considered when his ideals were at stake. His life was devoted to producing greater freedom for his fellowmen, and for this he fought no matter what the results would be. His personal welfare was always placed after the ideals for which he was struggling. And for this reason he had to suffer exile, poverty, hardships, and denunciations, but he never wavered in the pursuit of his cherished ideals. He was at the same time a patron of good art, of literature, and of music, and sought to create a greater interest[39] in them, and better understanding of them.

If we now pass on to consider Heinzen's critical principles, we will realize that his philosophical views are an important factor in determining his judgment. As in his opinion the materialistic point of view is the only justifiable one, and as the salvation of the world can only be accomplished by its agency, all the poets who favor the idealistic philosophy will naturally be condemned as obstructing the way to truth and to freedom. Similarly the Christian poets, the "standpatters",

[38]Ibid., II, p. 81.

[39]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I. p. 169.

the conservatives, will share the same fate. In fact only the propagandist has a right to literary activity, he whose ideals and convictions are opposed to the present state of affairs; only the champions of radicalism, of truth, of revolution, should be permitted to write. The mere production of literature for the sake of financial returns should cease entirely. "Nobody has a greater calling to write than he whose convictions reject that which is at present established, and who therefore feels the need to help in putting something better in its place. Only he should write, who must write. Those who make writing merely a business, have neither to give vent to the enthusiasm for the good, nor to the dissatisfaction against the evil; it does not require any self-sacrifice on their part to remain silent. We would soon be freed from all our useless writers if we could assure everyone of them a few hundred dollars more per year than he receives at present. Lord God Almighty, you who care for these scoundrels so paternally, let money rain into the pockets of all these good-for-nothings, so that no other voice will be heard than that of radicalism, of conviction, of truth."[42]

We must keep in mind that when Heinzen speaks of truth and conviction, he means that attitude of mind which he himself represents. He believes to have found the absolute truth, consequently there can be no other truth opposed to his ideas. Even sincere convictions in other directions are not recognized by Heinzen. Those people he either considers as cowards, hypocrites, or otherwise stupid. "All of these great statesmen, ministers, diplomats, professors, campaign-orators, *and literary men*, who have not comprehended and represented the rights of all men, are in my eyes, in spite of their distinctions and their triumphs, stupid, absolutely stupid, more stupid than the most stupid schoolboy."[40]

Into this class Heinzen puts all those who were not in sympathy with the revolutionary ideals of 1848. Those who were still in favor of monarchy, even a constitutional monarchy, have thereby shown their true colors and deserve no further notice.

[40]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 200.

The revolution was a kind of touch-stone with which the worth of the poets was tested. "All those who did possess a noble nature and were motivated by higher ideals, had to step forth during the revolution and show their colors. Whoever did not do this was either servile (reactionary), or what is the same thing, stupid. Of this caliber are all those who, after the suppression of the revolution, could be reinstated in their former positions."[41]

This naturally includes all those who were not forced to flee the country like Heinzen and Freiligrath, those who adapted themselves to conditions and sought to secure freedom and emancipation through a gradual transformation instead of a violent and bloody revolution. Heinzen is a bitter enemy of all compromises, and draws the ultimate conclusions in every case. Naturally he expects others to do the same, and denounces those that do not go to such extremes.

This raises the question whether Heinzen's emigration to America was not an important factor in influencing and determining his judgment of the contemporary German literature. I have indicated in the first chapter that a remarkable change came over the literature after the revolution. The very men who had summarily demanded freedom, and had advocated violent methods as a means of securing it, had gradually come to change their tone. The revolutionary poetry ceased almost entirely. Some of these poets became disheartened, others realized the impossibility of securing freedom and emancipation by a revolution, and now devoted their efforts to bringing this change about by lawful methods and by gradual changes. It is very likely that had Heinzen remained in Germany instead of coming to America he would also have been influenced by the general change of feeling, and would have modified his extreme position. But as it was, Heinzen did not depart one jot or tittle from his pre-revolutionary attitude. He continued to make the same demands which he made before the revolution. Living here in America, far removed from the scene of conflict, he could not understand the reasons for the change of

[41] Ibid., pp. 69 ff.

attitude in Germany. He regarded all of those who did modify their position, either as hypocrites or as cowards. This lack of consistency, this apparent lack of manliness, aroused his ire, and caused his wholesale condemnation of the post-revolutionary poets.

A fundamental question in Heinzen's criticisms, therefore, is the question of the author's character and his principles, as a criterion of judgment. This question has found different answers by various men. Heine, for instance, maintains that genius and character are to be entirely separated, and that the antithesis between talent and character has been invented by the envy and impotence of inferior men as a weapon against the powerful genius. Friedrich Kummer, in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature, takes an intermediate position, and wants both sides of the question to be considered. Heinzen, however, lays the emphasis in the first place upon character, and upon the principles of right, justice, and truth. And he feels justified in his position not only from a moral, but also from an aesthetic point of view. That which is bad, i. e., that which is bad in his opinion, cannot be considered beautiful, and the vulgar cannot be poetic. Even if the most gifted poet would treat of a subject which must be condemned in principle, if for example, he would make a prince or a despot the hero of his work, then it does not deserve the name of poetry. Similarly, a poet must be a man above all things, i. e., he must be radical, consistent, democratic. If he does not fulfill this requirement, he has thereby lost all claim to consideration as a poet."[42]

CHAPTER IV.

KARL HEINZEN AS LITERARY CRITIC.

Heinzen manifested an interest in literature very early in his life, and during his attendance at the University of Bonn, as I have pointed out, he neglected the study of medicine, for which he was registered, and devoted most of his time to literary studies. By reading the works of the great classical writers,

[42]Teutscher Radikalismus, N. F., I, p. 59.

Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing, he acquired good taste and judgment. That he had grasped the essential distinction between genuine and counterfeit poetry, I have endeavored to show by quotations from his early poetry. He improved his taste and widened his acquaintance with German literature in the subsequent years of his life by private reading. Even after his emigration to America he endeavored to remain in close touch with the intellectual life of Germany, and he succeeded in procuring all the latest publications, which he read and studied.

Heinzen considers literature one of the ideal treasures of the human race, of infinitely greater value than mere material possessions. He places it above all the other arts, above music, sculpture, and painting. He regards good literature as the most influential factor in shaping a man's character, in formulating his ideals, and in urging him to realize these ideals in practice. And what is true of literature in general he believes to be especially true of German literature. The greatest treasure which the Germans possess is their literature, the only thing of which a member of the German nation at that time could be proud.[43]

He wishes to have the American children instructed in the German language and literature. "A new world would thereby be opened to them, and the coming generation would be essentially different from the present one. What men like Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Jean Paul, and so many German poets have to offer, you will find in no other literature, least of all in American literature. And as far as religious enlightenment is concerned, the mother of all other enlightenment, no literature has done so much and so thorough work for it as the German."[44]

Here we see the reason for Heinzen's enthusiasm for German literature. It is not so much the perfect form of poetry, not so much the mere aesthetic qualities, which he admires, but rather the high ideals which are set forth in it. As champions of truth and freedom, of right and justice, as the

[43]T. R., N. F., I, 76 ff.

[44]T. R., N. F., II, 741.

apostles of a new and freer humanity, he values and admires these poets. He is less concerned with the artistic theories than with the contents. Classicism and romanticism, realism and naturalism, do not matter as much as the moral principles that permeate the artistic production.

However, in applying this criterion to German literature Heinzen finds himself obliged to limit his approval to a comparatively small circle of writers. Not in the poetry of his contemporaries, but in that of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, and similar writers, he sees the salvation of his people. Goethe especially is the object of Heinzen's veneration, and this in spite of the fact that Goethe was not a political revolutionist. Goethe remained passive towards all movements for national unity, and for political freedom. Even the Wars of Liberation, which had incited the whole nation to the highest pitch, left him entirely cold. This was primarily the reason why Wolfgang Menzel had been such a decided opponent of Goethe. And inasmuch as the July Revolution of 1830 had not moved Goethe in the least, we should expect that Heinzen would have some severe words of censure for him. But this is not the case. Heinzen realizes that Goethe stood for more than revolution by mere force of arms. When the news of the July Revolution arrived in Germany, Goethe said to a friend: "The true revolution is that of the human spirit." Heinzen considers these words the greatest revolutionary truth,[45] and in them finds the best proof of his ideal conception of revolution.

Goethe, however, is not entirely above reproach, according to Heinzen's opinion. The poet's residence at the Court of Weimar, and his position as "Geheimrat", are not to be commended. And when in 1863 Heinzen had read the newly published correspondence between Goethe and the Duke Karl August, he was disappointed, because "it makes a very disagreeable impression by the servile phrases with which Goethe seeks to depict the exceedingly good fortune which consists of being humbled by the patronage of princely idols."[46]

[45]T. R., N. F., I, p. 153.

[46]Ibid., II, pp. 177 ff.

One of the few men of the later period for whom Heinzen expresses great admiration is Ludwig Börne. He considers a monument erected in honor of Börne as one of the most appropriate of all the monuments, a just recognition of a great mind and character which should have many followers.[47] Here again the reasons for Heinzen's admiration are apparent. Börne's ideals and aspirations were very similar to those of Heinzen, and he fought for them as courageously and persistently as did the latter. In a masterly style he carried on a campaign for freedom as journalist, critic, political propagandist, and satirist. At a time when interest was centered mainly on purely aesthetic questions, Börne regarded everything from the point of view of character and political attitude. This was exactly Heinzen's standpoint a few decades later. In addition to this, Börne's consistency, his absolute sense of justice, his striving for truth, his relentlessness, were factors calculated to appeal very strongly to Heinzen.

To what an extent Heinzen's philosophical and political views influenced his criticisms, becomes evident from his one-sided judgment of Ludwig Uhland. Uhland certainly was striving to procure freedom and representative government for his people. As a member of The Frankfort Parliament he took his seat at the extreme left of the left centre. Here he opposed the idea of an hereditary Prussian emperor and voted for an elective head of the empire to be chosen every six years. On this occasion he uttered the memorable words: "Believe me, gentlemen, no head will shine over Germany which has not been anointed with a full drop of democratic oil." But when at his death, in 1862, he was celebrated as the greatest German poet, Heinzen protested. He gives him credit for his high talents, and regards him as an honorable man, "but as poet and politician he belongs more to the past than to the present, because he was a narrow romanticist in both directions. Even up to his last moments the main subject of his erring thoughts was the poetry of the Middle Ages, and if Goethe died with the words,

[47] Ibid., p. 381.

'more light', then Uhland might have taken leave with the words, 'more darkness.'."[48] Heinzen, with his materialistic point of view regards the Middle Ages as the Dark Ages, a period of superstition and of feudal regime. What he desires is radicalism, not only in politics, in science, and in philosophy, but also in poetry, and this is not to be found in the Middle Ages.

Heinzen's antipathy to Heinrich Heine at first seems somewhat contradictory. We would suppose that because of his cosmopolitan ideals, and because of his derision of the Prussian Government, Heinzen would be in sympathy with him. But Heinzen looks below the surface. He does not maintain that Heine is ungifted, but he feels the lack of an important element in his personality, that of character. "Nobody would think of denying that Heine has a good mind, wit, and a poetic vein, but he is a diamond mounted in mud, and as a character wholly despicable."[49] Here we see clearly what an important factor the author's character is in Heinzen's criticisms. Heine's inconsistency, his frequent change of principles, calls forth bitter denunciation, especially when Heinzen hears that Heine has renounced his unbelief and glorifies the Catholic church. He believes that this is merely a clever ruse in order to secure the favor of the Jesuits, who were then in power. "It is to be expected from this character that he would seek to procure safety by renouncing principles which he had formerly confessed as his. Principles are for him as cheap as blackberries, and frivolity he would like to give out as superiority. In the mouth of a man, who has slandered all men of character who were devoted to freedom, and with whom he has come in contact, who has persecuted Platen during his lifetime, Börne in the grave, and Victor Hugo in exile, in the meanest fashion, who recognizes a "God" in the old despot Napoleon, and his "legitimate lord" in the new one, who was formerly an enthusiast for the Prussian Dynasty, and now dedicates his work to the degenerated Prince Püchler, at one

[48] T. R., N. F., II, p. 127.

[49] T. R., N. F., I, p. 98.

time the paid agent of Guizot and correspondent of the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung' when it was in its lowest stages, in the mouth of such a frivolous and suspicious character the renunciation of his confession of faith has as much value as the confession itself."[50]

Heine's glorification of Catholicism is to be condemned not only from a moral and philosophical, but also from an aesthetic and poetic point of view. A man who writes poetry about the Madonna and sings of the "joy of resurrection" cannot lay claim to the title of poet.[51]

As a critic, however, Heinzen is chiefly concerned with the literary productions after 1850. I have indicated in the first chapter that a complete change came over the literature of Germany after the revolution. The political lyric, which had engrossed the attention of the people in the previous decades, now ceased to interest them, and gradually disappeared entirely. Instead they sought consolation for their down-trodden hopes in a very superficial, sentimental, and semi-romantic world of fiction. Richard M. Meyer, in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature, refers to the "great flood of poetry of exhaustion and relaxation" which came over Germany after the revolution.[55] Everything that bore evidence of the great crisis through which Germany had just passed, all elements that would appeal to the nation at large, were to be strictly excluded from poetry, all exertion and excitement was purposely avoided. This was characteristic of the younger generation, which usually puts forth a titanic effort to produce new and mighty works of art. Therefore many of these poets were not unjustly referred to as "fanatics of tranquillity."[52]

However, the center of this new and artificial poetry was the courts of princes and kings, who had bent all their efforts towards the suppression of liberal and radical literary productions. They now surrounded themselves with a circle of

[50]T. R., N. F., I, p. 98.

[51]Ibid., p. 100.

[52]R. M. Meyer, History of XIX Century Literature, p. 319.

these harmless writers, who were paid merely to amuse and entertain them. The most popular subjects were of an exotic kind, affected love-stories, world-removed, or sentimental, in an atmosphere of "Weltschmerz" and resignation.

We can readily see that this state of affairs in German literature must have irritated and enraged Heinzen very much. Even after his emigration to America he remained true to his pre-revolutionary ideals. He had not departed in the slightest degree from his previous demands, and was as enthusiastic in his support of a revolution in Germany as before his exile. The change of feeling in Germany he regarded as lack of manliness, as a sign of degeneration, as utterly contemptible. This becomes even more evident if we remember the great emphasis which Heinzen lays on literature as an important factor in the national life. If his ideals for Germany are to be realized, then the path must first be cleared by a radical literature. The absence of this makes his endeavors almost hopeless, and therefore he maintains that a radical literary criticism is just as necessary in Germany as political-revolutionary agitation.[53]

It is from this point of view that we must seek to understand Heinzen's criticisms. If we remember how much Heinzen considered there was at stake, and, furthermore, that he stood almost alone in his fight against this artificial effeminate, and degenerate poetry, we will perhaps pardon him the severe language which he uses against these writers. A few selections will suffice to illustrate Heinzen's disgust for the kind of poetry that was then most popular. Thus he speaks of the insignificance of the courtly poets:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die eitlen und hohlen Groszmännereien, Beräucherungen, Kameradereien, Hofmachereien, Bulletins, Komödien, etc., womit die hofrätlichen Literaten, welche jetzt das Gebiet der teutschen Literatur beherrschen, ihr Genügen an der Eunuchenzeit bekunden, deren Lieblinge sie sind, und die nichts so bedarf wie kräftiger Aufruhrgeister, welche dies

[53] T. R., N. F., II, p. 302.

ganze Geschmeisz in die Ecke fegen könnten. In den teutschen Blättern, namentlich den literarischen, werden jeden Tag die elendesten Kleinigkeiten unserer literarischen Hofräte mit einer Wichtigkeit, einer Geheimtuerei, und einem Ton besprochen, welche genau an die Gerüchte über die wichtigen Ereignisse an den Höfen erinnern . . . Man möchte dies ganze blasierte, servile und nichtige Literatengesindel Teutschlands, in dem nicht ein Funkchen männlicher Kraft und Würde mehr auflodert, unter dem Fusz verwischen wie einen Insektenhaufen."[54]

And again the wholesale manufacture of mediocre, harmless, sentimental poetry under the gracious protection of the powers that be, calls forth his anger:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die Art, wie jetzt sich wieder die servilen Amphibien in dem Sumpf der teutschen Literatur breit machen; das ist eine Behäbigkeit des Jammers, eine Süffisance der Mittelmässigkeit, eine Superfötation der Impotenz, kurz, ein unnatürliches Gewimmel und Wichtigtun und Produzierien eines Geschlechts, welches sich durch seine Unschuld vor der Gewalt und durch die Gewalt vor dem Besen der Revolution gesichert glaubt—dasz man nur mit dem Risiko des Übelwerdens einen Blick in diese Misere hineinwerfen kann."[55] The poets who enjoy the greatest favors are the same who had already poisoned the public mind before 1848, Gutzkow, Hebbel, Laube, Dingelstedt, Mügge, König, Beck, Schücking, Prutz, Geibel, etc. These "veterans of abomination" have only received reinforcement in courtly critics, such as Julian Schmidt, and in courtly poets, such as Paul Heyse, who do not, however, distinguish themselves from the others. Heinzen believes that the political condition of Germany, the rule of the despots, is responsible for this sad state of the literature, because the literature of the free spirit, the radical poetry, is suppressed by the police. A complete change would be brought about by a revolution, for in 1848 these "court and tea-table poets" had lost all prestige. Only when

[54]T. R., N. F., II, pp. 243 ff.

[55]Ibid., I, p. 61.

the reaction set in again, did they dare to venture forth from their obscurity.[56]

As model poets Heinzen considers Ferdinand Freiligrath and Richard Wagner. Freiligrath was a personal friend of Heinzen, who had gone to the same extremes in his political agitation. Personal considerations could not influence him, and therefore he had refused to accept a pension from the Prussian Government. Since then he had spent his life in exile and had not wavered in his politics, even after the revolution. Richard Wagner was another man to fulfill Heinzen's ideal as a poet. He was radical both in his philosophical and political views. He was an ardent supporter of the doctrine of materialism. He had also actively participated in the revolt and was forced to flee after its suppression.[57]

Regarding the general characteristics of the poetry of the time, Heinzen's criticisms have not missed the mark very much. The poetry of men like Friedrich Gerstäcker, Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer, Theodor Mügge, Otto Müller, Otto Roquette, M. G. Saphir, has since passed into oblivion. But along with these men Heinzen has also condemned a number of writers whose names have remained more or less illustrious, and these we will have to consider separately in order to understand Heinzen's attitude toward them.

Thus Hebbel is condemned because he is not in sympathy with the revolution, and because he writes poetry supporting the Austrian Emperor. Heinzen does not recognize Adolph Strodtmann's protest, who maintains that Hebbel deserves a laurel wreath and a citizen's crown, rather than the stigma of "abominable". Heinzen again does not deny that Hebbel has great gifts and talents, but he refuses to acknowledge his good sense and judgment. To support his contention he quotes the following poem to the Austrian Emperor:

> "War auch der Mörder, welcher tief verblendet,
> Den meuchlerischen Stahl auf dich gezückt,
> Ein Bote, den die Hölle selbst gesendet,

[56]Ibid., I, p. 61.

[57]Ibid., I, p. 61.

Nachdem sie ihn im Innersten berückt,
So hat es doch der Himmel so gewendet,
Dasz jetzt ihn die Apostelkrone schmückt;
Denn Kunde hat der Herr durch ihn gegeben;
Gefeit ist, weil geweiht, des Kaisers Leben."

Heinzen's point of view may be narrow and one-sided, but it is at least consistent with his political views. The autocratic rulers and despots he considers to be enemies of mankind, who are to be annihilated with fire and sword if necessary. Therefore who can still sing their praises has lost all claim to consideration, no matter how highly he is gifted. "A poet who could write poetry in honor of the Emperor of Austria in 1853, has according to my opinion renounced the title of poet, and become a despicable lackey. A poet must above all things be a man, and lackeys cannot be counted among them. Hebbel has not only become a lackey, but a traitor."[58]

Similarly Emanuel Geibel is severely censured for the following poem:

"O wann kommst du, Tag der Freude,
Den mein ahnend Herz mir zeigt,
Da des jungen Reichs Gebäude
Himmelan vollendet steigt,
Da ein Geist der Eintracht drinnen
Wie am Pfingstfest niederzückt,
Und des Kaisers Hand die Zinnen
Mit dem Kranz der Freiheit schmückt."

Heinzen considers this to be absolutely stupid, for "an emperor adorning the pinnacles with the wreath of freedom" is an impossibility. Therefore it is an empty phrase, mere flattery, and for this nonsense Geibel is also termed a "brainless lackey."[59]

Fanny Lewald, among others, is criticized because the hero of one of her novels is a "stupid and degenerate Prussian prince," and because the glorification of such a character cannot be considered as poetic.[60]

Because of their "apostasy" and their servility towards the rulers, Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Franz Dingelstedt, Rob-

[58]Ibid., I, pp. 68 ff.

[59]Ibid., II, 442 ff.

[60]Ibid., II, 214.

ert Prutz and others are also denounced. Needless to say, these characters were not as black as Heinzen painted them. They continued their demands for liberal reforms and for national unity after 1848, but wanted to secure freedom in a lawful way. Heinzen, however, considered them cowards and apostates, inconsistent and despicable creatures. This mainly for the reason that they were favorites at the courts and received pensions and other distinctions from the rulers.

The lack of manliness, the sentimental resignation which Heizen tried to combat in the political life of Germany, is also denounced when it appears in the garb of poetry. A good example of this is Paul Heyse's novel, "Das Bild der Mutter", in which the hero is not the lover, but his friend, who voluntarily gives up his sweetheart to the former. The girl, by order of her parents, also resigns herself to her fate and marries the other one. Heinzen maintains that common sense as well as "poetic justice" demand that when two persons love each other they shall also possess one another. Heinzen draws his conclusions by analogy with the political conditions: a person who can give up a loved one voluntarily, will certainly have patience and resignation enough to give up all other human rights, and political freedom.[61]

It is evident that Heinzen lays the greatest emphasis upon the author's character, his principles, and his political views as a criterion of judgment. He does not maintain that the aesthetic qualities of literature are not to be considered, but he believes, and rightly so, that mere artistic form without a content of high principles and noble ideals is worthless. Heinzen's standpoint may be called one-sided, but his importance lies in the fact that at a time when the purely aesthetic considerations engrossed the attention of the poets, he called attention to the great mission which literature is to perform, by being a leader in the thought and in the life of the people.

[61] Ibid., I, p. 24.

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A. Published in Europe.

1. Gedichte, 8vo., 248 pages, Köln, 1841.
2. Dr. Nebel, oder Gelehrsamkeit und Leben, Comedy in Five Acts, 8vo., Köln, 1841.
3. Die Ehre, 8vo., 24 pages, Köln, 1842.
4. Reise eines teutschen Romantikers nach Batavia, 12mo., 216 pages, Köln, 1843.
   Second edition, 7vo., Mannheim, 1845.
   Third edition in "Erlebtes," Vol. I.
5. Die Kölnische Komödie, von Tante Allbieri zum kölnischen Karnival, Köln, 1842.
6. Die geheime Konduitenliste, 8vo., Köln, 1842.
7. Die preuszische Bureaukratie, 8vo., Darmstadt, 1844.
8. Ein Steckbrief, 8vo., Brussels, 1845.
9. Preuszisches und Teutsches, 8vo., Konstanz, 1845.
10. Mehr als zwanzig Bogen, 8vo, Darmstadt, 1845.
11. Blätter zum Lorbeerkranz eines Verschollenen, Zürich, 1846.
12. Weniger als zwanzig Bogen, 8vo., Münster, (fictitious), 1846.
13. Politische und unpolitische Fahrten und Abenteuer, 2 vol., 12mo., Mannheim, 1846.
    Vol. I. Ältere Fahrten.
    Vol. II. Neuere Fahrten und politische Romantik.
14. Dreiszig Kriegsartikel der neuen Zeit für Offiziere und Gemeine, 8vo., 36 pages, Neustadt, 1846.
15. Eine Mahnung an die teutschen Liberalen, Herisau, 1846.
16. Macht Euch bereit. Ein Wort an das teutsche Volk. Herisau, 1846.
17. Der Schleswig-Holstein'sche Nationallärm, 8vo., 28 pages, Bern, 1846.
18. Krakau. Den Schweizern gewidmet. Zürich, 1847.
19. Das Patent. Berlin, 1847.
20. Meine Ausweisung aus Zürich, 8vo., 44 pages. Bern, 1847.
21. Teutsche Revolution. Gesammelte Flugschriften, 8vo., 552 pages. Bern, 1847.
    Contains besides the articles mentioned under numbers 8, 9, and 14-20, the following articles, which appeared in the periodicals edited by him:
    1. Öffentliche Dankaddresse teutscher Preuszen an die Herren von Itzstein und Hecker.
    2. Künftige Kabinetsorders Olini's des Groszen.
    3. Die Schleuszen auf!
    4. Die Kölner Hetzjagd.
    5. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel.
    6. Kommunistisches.
    7. Was und wer ist liberal.
    8. Der gesetzliche Weg in ungesetzlichen Staaten.
    9. Politische Walfischtonnen.
    10. Teutsche Dummheiten.

22. Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden. 12mo., 46 pages. Bern, 1848.
23. Über Musik und Kunst. 8vo., 16 pages. Leipzig, 1848.
24. Frankreichs brüderlicher Bund mit Teutschland. 16mo. Basel, 1848.
25. Die Helden des teutschen Kommunismus. Dem Herrn Karl Marx gewidmet. 12mo., 104 pages. Bern, 1848.
26. An die Männer des gesunden Menschenvertstandes in Teutschland. Basel, 1848.
27. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel. (2nd ed.) Bern, 1849.
28. Was ist zu tun? Karlsruhe, 1849.
29. Einige Blicke in die badisch-pfälzische Revolution. 12mo., 52 pages. Bern, 1849.
30. Mord und Freiheit. London, 1850.
31. Die groszen Männer der Paulskirche. London, 1850.
32. Die Lehren der Revolution. London, 1850.
33. Struffiana. London, 1850.

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34. Die Opposition. Mannheim, 1846.
35. Der teutsche Tribun. Zürich, 1846-1847.
36. Der Demokrat. Zürich, 1847.
37. Der Völkerbund. (In conjunction with Struve, Mazzini, and Galeer.) Geneva, 1849. Only one number appeared.

C. Published in America.

38. Einiges über teutschen Servilismus und Liberalismus. New York, 1847.
39. Die Rechte und Stellung der Weiber. New York, 1852. Second edition, Berlin, 1869; Third edition, 1874.
40. Mord und Freiheit. Second edition, New York, 1853.
41. Das Volk. New York, 1863.
42. Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden. First, Second, and Third editions, New York and Boston, 1853.
43. Sechs Briefe an einen frommen Mann. Louisville, 1853. Sixth edition, Boston, 1874.
44. Thomas Paine. Cincinnati, 1855.
45. Glück und Unglück. Cincinnati. 1855.
46. Gedichte. Second edition, New York, 1856. Third edition, Boston, 1867.
47. Hat die Welt einen Zweck? New York, 1857.
48. Die öffentliche Meinung. New York, 1858.
49. Lustspiele. Boston.
50. Die Teutschen und die Amerikaner. Boston, 1860.
51. Die Menschheit als Verbrecherin. Boston, 1864.
52. Mankind the Criminal. Boston, 1864.

53. Erlebtes, Vol. I. Vor meiner Exilirung. 8vo., 374 pages. Boston, 1864.
54. Die Wahrheit. Boston, 1865.
55. Ein europäischer Soldat an seine Kameraden. Boston, 1867.
56. Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika. 8vo., 364 pages. No place, 1867.
57. Wer und was ist das Volk? Boston, 1869.
58. Was ist Humanität? Boston, 1869.
59. Six Letters to a Pious Man. Boston, 1869.
60. Mensch und Magen. Boston, 1870.
61. Was ist wahre Demokratie? Boston, 1871.
62. Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika. Vol. II. No place, 1871.
63. Ueber Kommunismus und Sozialismus. No place, 1872.
64. Der teutsche Editoren-Kongress zu Cincinnati, oder das gebrochene Herz. (Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. V.) 8vo., 418 pages. Boston, 1872.
65. Erlebtes. Vol. II. Nach meiner Exilirung. 8vo., 517 pages. Boston, 1874.
66. Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika. Vol. III. No place, 1875.
67. Lessons of a Century. Boston, 1876.
68. Böse Tugenden und gute Untugenden. 12mo., 44 pages. No place, 1876.
69. What is Humanity? Boston, 1877.
71. Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika. Vol. IV. No place, 1879.

D. Periodicals published in America.

72. Die deutsche Schnellpost. (Weekly paper.) New York, 1848.
73. Der Völkerbund. (Only one number appeared.) New York, 1850.
74. Die deutsche Schnellpost. New York, 1851.
75. New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung. (Daily paper.) New York, September to December, 1853.
76. Janus. (Weekly paper.) New York, 1852.
77. Der Herold des Westens. (Weekly paper.) Louisville, September to December, 1853.
78. Der Pionier. (Weekly paper.) Louisville, January to October, 1854; Cincinnati, November, 1859, to June, 1858; Boston, December, 1858, to December, 1879.



Die Deutschen und die Amerikaner.*

Ein Vortrag von Karl Heinzen. (1860.)

Viele von uns haben ihr Exil, ihren Aufenthalt in Amerika nur als ein Provisorium betrachtet. Sie haben in der Schule des hiesigen Lebens gleichsam nur hospitiert, um später wieder die eigentliche Arena ihres Strebens in Europa aufzusuchen. Sie konnten sich nicht finden in das demütigende Zugeständnis, daß ein momentaner Sieg der rohen Gewalt im Stande sei, den Strom ihres Denkens und Wollens für immer zu hemmen, oder unter dem Trümmerwerk äußerer Lebensverhältnisse zu verschütten. Und wenn auch die Zeit allmählich in ihnen die Zuversicht abschwächte, mit der alten Kraft und auf dem früheren Posten den unterbrochenen Kampf zu Ende zu führen, so hielt doch der Haß gegen Tyrannei und Verrat wenigstens die Hoffnung fest, den Tag der Rache auf heimatlichem Boden noch mitfeiern zu können.

Vielleicht auch diese Hoffnung wird für uns Verschlagene eine eitle sein, und so wie die Indifferenten sich längst mit dem Gedanken abgefunden haben, daß Amerika fortan ihre Heimat sei, so haben ihm auch Diejenigen in's Gesicht zu sehen, welche bisher in Amerika existiert, aber eigentlich in Deutschland gelebt haben.

Dieser Gedanke ist bald ausgedacht und erschöpft für Den, welcher hier nichts sucht, als Mittel und Gelegenheit, ein schützendes Dach zu bauen und unter diesem Dach seine Kasse und seinen Magen zu füllen. Wer aber sein Streben und seine Bedürfnisse nicht in diese Grenzen der platten Alltäglichkeit einschließen kann, hat lang mit sich zu Rat zu gehen und sich lang Rechenschaft zu geben, bis er in dem neuen Heere, womit er hier in den Kampf

* Dieser glänzende, leider fast vergessene Vortrag des großen Freiheitskämpfers ist nicht nur ein höchst wichtiges Dokument für die innere Geschichte des amerikanischen Deutschtums, sondern gewinnt gerade heute, wo wir mit ähnlichen Fragen zu ringen haben, die größte Bedeutung.

der Menschheitsentwicklung ziehen soll, seinen rechten Platz gefunden und eingenommen hat.

Je weniger eigentümlichen Gehalt und je weniger Selbstzweck ein Mensch hat, desto leichter nimmt er einen fremden Inhalt und Zweck in sich auf. Der Tiermensch ist überall zu Hause, wo er Magen und Beutel füllen kann. Ein neues Vaterland, in der edleren Bedeutung des Wortes genommen, ist nicht mit der Phrase geschaffen, womit man es begrüßt, und das bloße Naturalisieren ändert nicht die mitgebrachte Natur. Der Patriotismus, der sich bloß durch die neue Versorgung bildet, ist nichts als die Dankbarkeit des Bedienten oder das Attachement des Haustiers. Neue Verhältnisse zerstören nicht die alten Strebensziele, neue Aufgaben nicht die alten Ideen, neue Notwendigkeiten nicht die alten Wünsche, und wer als Herr ein Haus verläßt, findet sich nicht sofort als Gast in einem fremden zurecht. Um ganz zu Hause zu sein, muß der Mensch sein eigenes Haus haben. Kosmopolit sein in der Idee ist nicht schwer, aber es in der Praxis zu sein, erfordert Bedingungen der Betätigung, die man nicht im Reisekoffer mit sich führt. Kosmopolit zu sein in einem Urwald, den man nur mit Bären, Hirschen und Schlangen teilt, ist leichter, als Kosmopolit zu sein in einem neuen Gemeinwesen, wo verschiedengeartete Menschen die Priorität der Ansässigkeit geltend machen, den herrschenden Ton angeben und neue Bedingungen des Lebens und Strebens festgestellt haben. Amerika zur zweiten Heimat, zum neuen Vaterland zu machen, heißt daher nicht bloß einer ganzen Strebenswelt Lebewohl sagen, sondern zugleich sich eine ganz neue schaffen und als ihre Grundlage vor Allem das Verhältnis zu den neuen Staatsgenossen herausbilden und feststellen. Wer also als Deutscher und namentlich als deutscher Revolutionär oder Radikaler amerikanischer Bürger werden will, hat sich vor allen Dingen die Frage zu beantworten: was sind die Amerikaner und was sind die Deutschen; wodurch unterscheiden sie sich und wodurch ergänzen sie sich, welches ist ihr Verhältnis zu einander und worin besteht ihre beiderseitige Aufgabe?

Wenn ich in diesem Lande neben den Amerikanern bloß die Deutschen in Betracht ziehe, so geschieht es, weil unter der Einwanderung sie allein außer der numerischen Macht den nötigen geistigen Fonds besitzen, der ihnen eine Bedeutung in der Kultur-

entwicklung geben kann. Die eingewanderten Franzosen und Italiener, wie intelligent und tüchtig sie auch sein mögen, haben keine Bedeutung und keinen Einfluß wegen ihrer geringen Zahl und ihrer nationalen Abschließung; die Irländer sind zwar durch die nötige Zahl vertreten, jedoch auf ihrer niederen Bildungsstufe haben sie im Allgemeinen nur Bedeutung für diejenige Kultur, welche durch den Krummstab und die Sklavenpeitsche repräsentiert wird; die Deutschen aber legitimieren sich als Mitbewerber um die Zukunft dieses Landes nicht bloß durch Millionen Köpfe und Arme, sondern zugleich durch einen Kulturfonds, welcher die Resultate der Entwicklung des gebildetsten Volkes der Erde in sich schließt. Wir haben also ein Recht, wie wir die Aufgabe haben, hier zu fragen: was sind, was repräsentieren und was sollen die Deutschen, was die Amerikaner? Und die Beantwortung dieser Frage hat nicht weniger Interesse für die Amerikaner, als für uns selbst.

Staatsphilosophen vom Schlage der Herrn Gardner, Banks, Brooks[1]) u. s. w. sind um die Antwort nicht lang verlegen: sie sagen uns einfach, wir sollen ihnen womöglich zu gleichen suchen, wir sollen uns „amerikanisieren". Wann haben die Amerikaner selbst sich amerikanisiert? Nach meiner Ansicht in jenem Augenblick, wo sie ein gewisses Dokument unterschrieben, welches die Worte enthält: „Alle Menschen sind gleich geboren und mit unveräußerlichen Rechten begabt, zu denen das Leben, die Freiheit und das ungehinderte Streben nach Glück gehört." Wer am Treuesten an dieser Lehre festhält, ist nach meiner Ansicht der beste Amerikaner; müßten aber diejenigen über das Meer getrieben werden, welche jene Ur- und Original-Methode des Amerikanisierens vergessen haben, so fürchte ich, es müßten diesem gelobten Lande mehr Amerikaner den Rücken kehren, als Deutsche.

Wir sollen uns amerikanisieren! Dies Wort haben wir nun schon so oft gehört und vor der Wiederholung dieses Wortes sind wir noch immer so wenig gesichert, daß an Diejenigen, von denen es ausgeht, endlich die harte Anforderung gemacht werden muß, sich etwas dabei zu denken. In ihrem Sinne kann das Wort nur bedeuten, daß wir einen ganz neuen Menschen anziehen sollen,

[1]) Vertreter des Nativismus und des Knownothingtums von damals.

einen cisatlantischen Modellmenschen, und dieser Modellmensch ist natürlich Herr Gardner und Herr Banks, Herr Banks und Herr Gardner. Die Herren sollten bedenken, daß nicht jeder Mensch ein Modell sein kann, sonst bliebe keiner übrig, dem es zu dienen hat. Woraus besteht der Mensch, speziell der gebildete Mensch? Er besteht nicht bloß aus dem Fleisch und Blut, in welchem die Art seiner Eltern sich fortsetzte, er besteht auch aus allen den mannigfachen Einwirkungen, welche physische und politische Verhältnisse, welche Geschichte und Erziehung, welche Gesellschaft und Naturumgebung, welche Sitte und Lebensweise auf diese leibliche Gebilde mit seinen Anlagen und Kräften im Verlauf von Jahren und Dezennien gemacht haben. Er besteht aus den Gedanken, Gefühlen und Erinnerungen, welche die tausendfachen Bestrebungen, Erfahrungen und Berührungen seines vergangenen Lebens in ihm zurückgelassen haben. Er besteht aus angeborenen und erworbenen, gemütlichen und geistigen, praktischen und wissenschaftlichen, künstlerischen und literarischen Schätzen und Elementen, welche nach und nach sich in ihm angesammelt haben und gleichsam zellenweise wie ein physischer Organismus zu einem Ganzen in ihm verwachsen sind. Die Herrn Gouverneure Gardner und Banks, diese Tausendkünstler, machen mit diesem geistigen Organismus kurzen Prozeß. Reißt sie aus, rufen sie uns zu, werft von euch die Elemente, aus denen ihr besteht, und wenn dann gar nichts mehr von euch übrig bleibt, so seid ihr amerikanisiert. In dieser Weise würde ein „Know-Nothing" aus uns ein „Be-Nothing" machen und dann begrüßte er uns als Bruder. Und gibt er uns nicht für Alles Ersatz, was er uns genommen? Ist das Leben nicht wie ein Panorama, in welchem die Aufspannung eines „andern Bildes" genügt, das frühere zu verdrängen? Und hat noch irgend ein Bild der Welt ein Recht an die Erinnerung, nachdem das amerikanische vor euch aufgerollt worden? Steigt herab von den Alpen und erhebt den Blick zu den Alleghanies; vergeßt den mittelalterlichen Rhein, damit ihr den modernen Hudson bewundern lernt; streicht Berlin wie Heidelberg aus eurem Gedächtnis aus und verliebt euch in New York und Cambridge; werft Goethe und Schiller in den Ofen und lest dafür die Bibel und Miles Standish; begrabt den Hutten und den Börne und verehrt dafür den Webster und den

Everett; wendet euch ab von den Münstern und Mausoleen und erbaut euren Geschmack an feurigen „Brickhäusern" und dem eklektischen Stil steinerner Quodlibets; laßt Kiß und Rauch in den Schatten treten vor Crawford und Powers; kehrt Kaulbach und Lessing den Rücken und stellt euch bewundernd vor die Bilderläden, in welchen man Gemälde kauft, um Rahmen zu verkaufen. Wollt ihr aber außerdem noch Ersatz für eure Philosophen, so habt ihr — wenn die Bescheidenheit uns erlaubt dies anzudeuten — euren Gardner, Banks und Brooks bei der Hand.

Doch wie für eure geistigen, so ist auch für eure sonstigen Bedürfnisse gesorgt. Wozu wollt ihr Rheinwein trinken, wenn euch Tee geboten wird, jener heilige Tee, den die schwarzen Zöpfe produzieren und die rothaarigen Zöpfe trinken, der aber die Quintessenz alles Geistigen enthält, seit ihn die Bostoner in Seewasser getauft haben? Kann es euch Überwindung kosten, eure „gemütliche" Hauswirtschaft durch den Komfort der steifen amerikanischen Hausordnung zu reformieren? Was eure derbe deutsche Küche betrifft, so macht sie euch billiös oder blähsüchtig; mit Candies, Pies und Cakes, mit Pork und Beans und Boston Brown Bread aber amerikanisiert ihr euren Magen auf dem einfachen Weg der Dyspepsia. Sucht ihr gemütliche oder gesellige Unterhaltungen, so habt ihr Feuermannsparaden statt der Landpartien, Kotstraßen statt der Promenaden, Kirchen statt der Wirtshäuser, Thanksgivings-Tage statt der Volksfeste und vor Allem habt ihr Sonntags die echteste, ungetrübteste, himmlischste Langeweile: jene stille Wonne der inneren Nabelbeschauung, welche einen so erfreulichen Fortschritt über die äußere der asiatischen Talapoinen bekundet; jene stumme Bußübung für die böse Erbsünde, Gehirn im Kopf und Blut in den Adern zu haben; jenen eigentümlichen Zustand des Blödsinns ohne Gehirnerweichung, der Unempfindlichkeit ohne Chloroform, des Schlafens ohne Schlaf und der Leblosigkeit ohne Tod.

Um auf das Exempel des Amerikanisierens die entscheidende Probe zu machen, Herr Gardner und Herr Banks, wollen wir das Verhältnis einmal umkehren, wir wollen Sie von Amerika nach Deutschland auswandern lassen und fordern Sie dann mit teutonischem Patriotismus auf, sich zu germanisieren. Sträuben

Sie sich nicht, das Experiment ist bald gemacht. Zunächst also eignen Sie sich statt Ihres englischen „mixtum compositum", durch dessen Handhabung allein Sie hier große Männer geworden sind, unsere edle, reine deutsche Muttersprache an. Landen Sie, also ausgerüstet, glücklich an den „gastlichen Gestaden" Germaniens, so singen Sie zur Begrüßung nicht den „Yankee doodle", sondern: „Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" Kommen Sie nach Frankfurt, der Hauptstadt des „Reichs", so werden Sie es an Bostons Stelle als die „Wiege der Freiheit" verehren, aus der die „Pilgrime" der Paulskirche nach Stuttgart gewandert sind, in der später „die deutschen Männer" getagt haben und die einst Börne in dem „Hancock-House" der Judengasse beherbergt hat. Auch werden Sie dort statt der Webster-Statue die Goethe-Statue bewundern können, die eben so gut unter die Krämer paßt wie Webster unter die Abolitionisten. Wollen Sie das Bunker-Hill-Monument vergessen, so besuchen Sie bloß im Teutoburger Walde den Cherusker mit dem einen Arm oder den Tamerlanschen Knochenobelisk auf dem Schlachtfelde von Bronzell. Statt der „Union" lassen Sie die berühmte deutsche Einheit leben und an die Stelle Washingtons setzt Ihr neugebackener Patriotismus unseren großen Fr. Hecker, dem sämtliche „gärende Buttermilchtöpfe nachlaufen". In Berlin können Sie, wenn Sie „sound principles" haben, durch Vermittlung der Gendarmerie „Hands shaken" mit dem König in Uniform, statt mit Ihrem König im Frack. Spüren Sie einen Drang, die Sklavenhalter zu bekämpfen, so vergreifen Sie sich an jenen drei Dutzend Landesvätern, deren Sklaven den Vorzug haben, daß sie nicht bloß ihre Herrn, sondern auch sich selbst füttern und kleiden. Ihre Vorliebe für das Knownothingtum wenden Sie jenen Patrioten des „badischen Ländle" zu, welche zur Mithilfe an dem deutschen Befreiungswerke keinen „Foreigner" zulassen wollten, der unterhalb Mannheims geboren oder vom linken Rheinufer herübergekommen war. Spüren Sie Lust, sich in einen politischen „Klub" oder eine wühlerische „Loge" aufnehmen zu lassen, so treten Sie einem Vereine zur Abschaffung der Tierquälerei oder zur Verbreitung des besten Pflanzendüngers bei. Wollen Sie sich aufraffen zu einem Schwung über die Plattheiten des Lebens, so schwingen Sie sich nicht auf den Pegasus oder Ihr Pferd, sondern lernen Sie als

Turner den „Bauchschwung" und statt „Good bye" sagen Sie mit Jahnschem Biedersinn: „Gut Heil! Gruß und Handschlag!" Um bei der geistigen Unterhaltung nichts einzubüßen, lesen Sie unsern Redwitz statt Ihres Longfellow; für die Bibel aber werden Sie einige Entschädigung finden bei dem Vicarius Feuerbach. Am Sonntag lesen Sie Vormittags den „Faust" des Kirchenvaters Goethe und Nachmittags gehen Sie auf's Land und gestehen Sie mit Horaz ohne Anstand:

„Ein gutes Bier, ein beizender Tabak
Und eine Dirn' im Putz, das ist so mein Geschmack."

Nota bene, den Tabak dürfen Sie nicht nach hiesiger Weise innerlich anwenden, sondern nur äußerlich als Rauchopfer zu Ehren der Göttin Mephitis. Was aber des Leibes Notdurft betrifft, so werden Sie sich vor Allem, statt auf die Cakes, auf die bairischen Knödel verlegen und statt auf die Tomatoes werfen Sie sich auf das berühmte Sauerkraut, welches ein ganz vortreffliches Gericht ist, aber mitsamt dem „Fleischchen weiß und mild" Ihnen im Magen liegen wird wie den Bostoner Deutschen das Zweijahrs-amendement.

Die Herrn Banks und Gardner, Gardner und Banks werden mich in Verdacht ziehen, daß ich Possen mit ihnen treibe. Und dennoch habe ich ihnen in vollem Ernst begreifen zu machen gesucht, was sie und alle andern Repräsentanten des Vollblut-Amerikanertums mit uns armen Einwanderern vorhaben, wenn sie uns die Zumutung machen, uns zu amerikanisieren, d. i. durch Umwandlung unserer ganzen Denk- und Lebensweise Menschen ihres Schlages zu werden.

Man werde sich also endlich darüber klar, daß das Amerikanisieren im Sinne solcher Schablonen-Patrioten nicht bloß eine Absurdität, daß es geradezu eine Unmöglichkeit ist. Und gleichzeitig muß endlich erkannt werden, daß es aus keinem stichhaltigen Grunde wünschenswert, daß es der größte Verlust für die Entwicklung und ein mächtiges Hemmnis für den Fortschritt wäre. Die Verschiedenheit der Nationalitäten, wie die einzelnen Individualitäten, mit der aus ihr hervorgehenden geistigen Reibung, Anregung und gegenseitigen Durchdringung ist gerade ein Haupterfordernis, diesem Lande die große Zukunft zu sichern, die ihm

bevorsteht, wenn es erst die Ketten zerrissen hat, die es noch an die Sünden der Vergangenheit fesseln. Amerika, auf die „Amerikaner" beschränkt, wäre von vornherein verloren.

Es ist eine leere Phantasie, einen Menschen ohne nationale Eigentümlichkeit vorauszusetzen, und doch wäre ein solcher Mensch das notwendige Erfordernis für das Experiment, einen Nationalcharakter durch Einimpfung oder Aufnötigung zu schaffen. Ein Mensch „an sich", ein Mensch ohne bestimmte Färbung und unterscheidende Natur, die er mit einem Stamm oder einer Nation gemein hat, ist für unsere Vorstellung eine reine Unmöglichkeit. Es gibt kein Land, wo Menschen „an sich" leben. Nur ein solcher Mensch aber, dem alle Voraussetzung und Traditionen einer Nationalität und Geschichte fehlen, wäre im Stande, sich von außen her einen Nationalcharakter ein- und aufprägen zu lassen. Und wer eine solche Absorbierung der verschiedenen Eigentümlichkeiten der Völker, eine Uniformierung des Nationalcharakters wünschen kann, will dadurch der Entwickelung ihre notwendigsten Bedingungen und ihren Produkten den schönsten Reiz nehmen. Auch der Kosmopolitismus kann nicht ein Aufgehen aller Nationalunterschiede in einem einzigen Typus verlangen, sondern nur ein Zusammenwirken der verschiedenen Menschheitstypen für die eine Menschheitsidee. Die unfruchtbaren, vegetierenden Abfälle oder Ableger von Nationalitäten, die sich als besondere Staatswesen zurechtmachen, kann die Geschichte ganz gut entbehren, nicht aber die Eigenschaften jener großen Gemeinwesen, die einen besonderen Menschheitstypus repräsentieren und die Mittel haben, ihn zur gedeihlichen Entfaltung zu bringen. Wir brauchen weder das französelnde Kapaunentum der Belgier, noch das entartete Germanentum der Holländer; weder das imbezile Portugiesentum, noch das arrogante Dänentum; weder das amerikanische Spaniertum, noch das spanische Amerikanertum. Wohl aber braucht die Geschichte die geistreiche Lebendigkeit und den gärenden Ungestüm der Franzosen, den umfassenden Gedankenreichtum und die gründliche Natur der Deutschen, die poetische Schönheit der Italiener, den praktischen Sinn und die rastlose Tatkraft der Angelsachsen. Hier in Amerika aber finden wir den freien Boden für eine Zusammenfassung und Vereinigung aller der Entwicklungselemente, welche die verschiedenen großen Na-

tionaltypen darstellen. Hier sind gleichsam die nationalen Pflanzen, welche drüben in geschiedenen Beeten wachsen, zu einem politischen Riesen-Bouquet zusammengefaßt. Wie die amerikanischen Wälder sich durch die schöne Mannigfaltigkeit ihrer Baumarten auszeichnen, ohne daß die eine die andere am Wachstum hindert oder verdrängt, so gewinnt die amerikanische Gesellschaft ein Hauptinteresse durch die Verschiedenartigkeit ihrer Volkselemente, und nur dem borniertesten, geistlosesten Knownothingtum kann es einfallen, den amerikanischen Wald zu einer eintönigen, abwechslungslosen Gruppe von Hickories oder Hemlocks machen zu wollen. Die dünkelhafte Unwissenheit und Gedankenlosigkeit hat nie eine rohere Forderung gestellt als diese. Habt ihr euch schon ernstlich gefragt, was euer „Amerikanertum" sei und wie es sich verhalte zu unserem amerikanischen Europäertum? Zu dem Ausspruch, das höchste Wissen bestehe in der Erkenntnis, daß wir n i c h t s wissen, kam Sokrates, nachdem er Alles gelernt und durchdacht hatte. Die amerikanischen Sokratesse ersteigen die Stufe des Nichtswissers weit schneller, und direkter, als der griechische, nämlich ohne den lästigen Umweg des Lernens und des Denkens.

Statt uns also im Sinne der Herren Banks und Gardner zu amerikanisieren, wollen wir in dieser freien Luft erst recht unser wahres Deutschtum entwickeln, wir müssen hier erproben, was der Deutsche in der Freiheit gilt und werden kann, nicht in feindlichem Gegensatz, sondern in fördernder Gemeinschaft mit dem verwandten Angelsachsentum. Wir wollen so wenig in einem nationalen Zwittertum wie in einem nationalen Kapaunentum untergehen. Natürliche Amerikaner k ö n n e n wir nicht werden; Affen des Amerikanertums w o l l e n wir nicht werden; weniger als die Amerikaner d ü r f e n wir nicht werden. Seien wir also D e u t s c h e o h n e T e u t o n i s m u s, aber auch Amerikaner ohne Amerikanismus, seien wir einfach amerikanische Bürger mit deutscher Natur und suchen wir das Amerikanisieren in der freien Entwicklung des wahrhaft Menschlichen nach der Anleitung der Unabhängigkeitserklärung. Gleichheit der Freiheit und der Rechte für alle Verschiedenheiten der Individualität — das ist hier die einzige wahre Nationalität und das festeste Band des Patriotismus. Nicht im Sinne nationaler Exklusivität sollen

wir unsere Eigentümlichkeit bewahren, sondern um unserer eigentlichen Natur treu zu bleiben, ohne die wir eben nichts sein würden als verwischte Lettern im Buche des Lebens. Ich bleibe bei meinem Spruch:

Sich amerikanisieren
Heißt ganz sich verlieren;
Als Deutscher sich treu geblieben,
Heißt Ehre und Bildung lieben;
Doch besser indianisch,
Als deutsch-amerikanisch.

Ja, lieber eine vollblütige, echte Rothaut des Urwalds, als jenes deutsche Affentum und Zwittertum, das sich vom Amerikanertum die rohesten Seiten aneignet, um damit dem Pöbel zu imponieren, und eine Sprache zusammen-„mixt" und zusammen-„fixt", vor welcher die deutsche Grammatik aus dem Einband fahren möchte. Solche „gemixte" Deutsche sind beinahe so unausstehlich wie jene gewichsten, die sich von ihren Landleuten hochmütig als Aristokrätler abwenden, um bei den Amerikanern desto demütiger den Bedienten zu spielen. Die alten Römer hatten einen Janus mit zwei Gesichtern, von denen das eine vorwärts, das andere rückwärts schaute; gewisse Deutsche in Amerika stellen eine andere Art Janus dar, der das eine Gesicht rückwärts die Nase des Hochmutspinsels über seine Landsleute rümpfen läßt, während das andere vorwärts mit dem Grinsen des Lakaien bei den Amerikanern um das Gnadenbrot bettelt. Uebrigens haben auch diese amerikanisch degenerierten Deutschen ihre Aufgabe: sie zeigen dem Amerikaner, wie viel ein Deutscher verliert, wenn er sich aufgibt, lehren ihn daher Denjenigen schätzen, der sich treu bleibt. Die Amerikaner haben einen sehr guten Blick, diejenigen, die sich zu ihren Bedienten machen, von denjenigen zu unterscheiden, die sich selbst respektieren, und danach richten sie genau ihren eignen Respekt, wenn auch nicht immer ihre Anerkennung.

Als die wahren Amerikaner schätzen wir nicht diejenigen, welche durchaus „Amerika regieren" und uniformieren müssen, sondern die europäisch gebildeten Amerikaner, welche dem amerikanisch gesinnten Europäer als Menschen die Hand reichen. Als wahre Deutsche aber werden uns die Amerikaner nur dann schä-

tzen lernen, wenn wir unser Wesen selbstbewußt behaupten und unsere Vorzüge selbständig zur Geltung bringen. So lang wir dies nicht tun, ist es anmaßend, Anerkennung zu verlangen, oder beschämend, sie zu finden. Für das Ehrgefühl muß es drückender sein, eine unverdiente Anerkennung zu empfangen, als es für das Selbstgefühl ist, eine verdiente zu entbehren.

So stelle ich also den Deutschen und den Amerikaner als koordiniert zusammen, nicht den Einen dem Andern subordiniert. Die Zukunft mag entscheiden, wer „primus inter pares", der Erste unter den Gleichen, werden wird. Für die Gegenwart wollen wir unsere beiderseitigen Eigenschaften in einem flüchtigen Vergleich zusammenstellen und die charakteristischen Streitkräfte mustern, die wir beim Entwicklungskampf in's Feld zu führen haben.

Bei der Zurücksetzung, die uns die Amerikaner noch häufig bieten zu dürfen glauben, ist es für uns nicht ganz leicht, ihren Eigenschaften mit Unbefangenheit gerecht zu werden. Wo durch die Ungleichheit der Stellung eine Anerkennung in Gefahr kommt, den Schein der Schmeichelei zu tragen, ist auch der Gerechteste nicht immer geneigt, durch ein Lob sein Selbstgefühl zu exponieren. Ich muß es darauf ankommen lassen, ob mein Talent für die Schmeichelei sich genugsam verleugnen kann, um meine Anerkennung nicht zu entwerten.

Nehmen wir an, die ersten Kolonisten seien nicht Untertanen, sondern himmel- und höllenfeste Radikale und Revolutionäre vom Schlage unserer Achtundvierziger gewesen. Sie würden natürlich zuerst beflissen gewesen sein, die deutsche Einheit zu demonstrieren, indem sie über die Form der künftigen Universität, oder über die parlamentarische Ordnung der intellectuellen Unordnung so lang und so weise und so erschöpfend gestritten hätten, bis sie durch Bären, oder Indianer, oder den Hunger aller weiteren Kolonisationsbemühungen überhoben waren. Hätten sie sich aber über ein leitendes, entscheidendes Oberhaupt geeinigt, so würden sie sicher einen Mann gewählt haben, der die Kolonisation etwa mit folgender Aufforderung begonnen hätte: „Freunde, Brüder! Ehe wir Bäume fällen, Hütten bauen, das Land kultivieren und uns vor dem Verhungern und den Indianern schützen, laßt uns zuvor einen „Deutschen Zuschauer" gründen!"

Doch sind es nicht bloß solche Liebhabereien und Kuriositäten, welche die Grundursache bezeichnen, die uns Neulinge des selbstständigen Handelns zur praktischen Gestaltung einer neuen Welt aus dem rohen Material unfähig gemacht hätte. Die Grundursache finde ich in dem, durch unsere politische Erziehung verschuldeten oder doch vergrößerten Mißverhältnis zwischen unserer geistigen Anlage und unserer Befähigung zum praktischen Handeln. Wo es auf die Tat, die handelnde Initiative, den kühnen Angriff, die praktische Gestaltung und die ausdauernde Durchführung ankommt, da scheitern wir Deutschen noch durchgängig entweder an der Kritik oder an der Bummelei. Die Kritik umgeht das eigene Handeln, indem sie es schon im Voraus zergliedert und verurteilt; die Bummelei versäumt es, indem sie ihre Kräfte verlottert und an Allotria verzettelt.* Kein Volk ist stärker als das deutsche in Anläufen ohne Angriff, in Vorsätzen ohne Ausführung, in Verhandlung ohne Handlungen, in Worten ohne Taten. Zwar werden unsere Landsleute, wenn sie einmal zur Aktion kommen, auch gründlich handeln; aber wann sie dazu kommen, das kann niemand weniger vorausbestimmen als sie selbst. Die nötige Tat, die zeitige Tat, die entschiedene Tat, die energische Tat, die ausdauernde Tat, die nicht nachläßt, bis sie ihr Ziel erreicht — sie ist es, wozu der Deutsche sich nicht entschließen kann, sie ist es, die er stets verschiebt oder von Andern erwartet, die er so gern irgend einem erträumten „deus ex machina" überläßt und um die er gewöhnlich so lang herumkritisiert und herumbummelt, bis die Gelegenheit vorbei und das Fiasko gesichert ist. Dann geht er in sich, kritisiert sich selbst und tut Buße, indem er als doppelter Bummler zu Grunde geht, doch nicht als Betbruder. Die Anlage zur Kritik ist der größte Vorzug, sofern sie durch Ermittlung der Wahrheit dem Handeln die rechte Richtschnur anweist; aber sie ist der größte Fehler, wenn ihr nicht ein energischer Wille und schlagfertiger Entschluß zur Seite steht, der ihre Resultate rechtzeitig gestaltet und sich nicht tatlos mit dem selbstgefälligen Gedanken begnügt, sie gefunden zu haben. Keine Kritik und keine Tat — das ist irisch; Tat und keine Kritik

* Der deutsche Charakter, den Heinzen hier seinen Zeitgenossen zuschreibt, hat sich inzwischen, dank der Führung Preußens und Bismarcks, doch glücklicherweise gänzlich geändert.

— das ist amerikanisch; Kritik und keine Tat — das ist deutsch; Kritik und Tat zugleich — das ist, was die Deutschen und die Amerikaner mit einander zu Stande bringen sollen.

Die unzeitige deutsche Kritik, die nie beruhigte und nie befriedigte, die schwatzt wo sie handeln und räsonniert wo sie hören soll, die in ihrer Ausartung eben sowohl zur Klatschsucht wie zur Haarspalterei, zur Verkleinerungssucht wie zur Sophistik führt, ist bis jetzt noch überall die Feindin der deutschen Tat und Einigkeit gewesen und selbst die Not war nicht immer im Stande, sie zum Schweigen zu bringen. Den Deutschen genügt kein Plan und kein Führer, der an ihren Verstand appelliert; sie verzichten höchstens dann auf die störende Kritik, wenn man bescheiden genug ist, unter derselben zu bleiben. Dann sind sie im Stande, der größten Dummheit als Verdienst anzurechnen, was sie dem größten Verstande nie verzeihen würden; da aber in dieser klugen Welt der Mangel an Verstand immer nur einzelnen Individuen forthilft, nicht ganzen Völkern, so kann den Deutschen im Allgemeinen die Nachsicht, welche sie oft der Dummheit beweisen, eben so wenig nützen wie die Unerbittlichkeit, womit sie noch öfter den Verstand verurteilen. Daher rührt es, daß sie eben so unfähig sein würden, allein eine Kolonie zu gründen, wie sie bis jetzt unfähig waren, eine Revolution, ja auch nur eine erwähnenswerte Organisation für politische Zwecke durchzusetzen. Man gebe den Deutschen in der Wüste ihrer Zustände einen Löwen zum Führer und sie werden ihm mit der Zange ihrer Kritik alle Haare aus den Mähnen, alle Zähne aus dem Rachen und alle Klauen aus den Tatzen zu zerren suchen, um ihn womöglich zu einem Kamel zu machen. Nehmen sie aber ein Kamel zum Führer — was immer das Wahrscheinlichste ist —, so werden sie ihm mittelst einer Umkehrung der Kritik die Mähnen, die Zähne, die Klauen von hundert Löwen andichten, um dann nebst ihrem schrecklichen Führer von Tigern und Hyänen gefressen zu werden.

Neben der Kritik nannte ich als zweites Probatmittel der Erfolglosigkeit die Bummelei. Sie ist, wie ihre Schwester, die Gemütlichkeit, etwas so eigentümlich Deutsches, daß andere Völker nicht einmal einen Ausdruck für sie haben. Es gibt verschiedene Arten, Grade und Richtungen der Bummelei. Unsere edelsten Geister waren zeitweise so gut Bummler wie unsere ordinärsten

Eckensteher. Die Quelle der Bummelei ist eigentlich ein im leeren Beete der Tatkraft rinnender Ueberfluß an Gemüt und Phantasie, welcher sich ableitet in zielloses Träumen, phantastisches Schwärmen, ideales Schwelgen. Ist dieses Träumen, Schwärmen und Schwelgen einmal zur Gewohnheit geworden, was ihm in Deutschland sogar durch den Schutz der Polizei garantiert ist, so flieht es naturgemäß alles Handeln, wodurch es in Kontakt mit der störenden Wirklichkeit gebracht wird, und wirft sich höchstens auf das sogenannte „Genießen". Je nach der Art und Bildungsstufe des Individuums wandelt es an der Hand des Gemüts und der Phantasie ebenso wohl in's Bierhaus, wo es im Schaum des Gerstensaftes und im Qualm der Pfeife die unbequemen Störungen des wirklichen Lebens zergehen sieht, wie auf die Höhen des Parnaß, wo es sich inmitten eines Weltkampfes eine phantastische Welt über der wirklichen aufbaut. So führt den Deutschen die Bummelei ebenso gut in die Regionen des edelsten Geisteslebens wie in die Tiefen der gemeinsten Verkommenheit; sie macht ihn ebenso gut zum schaffenden Künstler wie zum arbeitsscheuen Strolch. Stets aber ist sie ein vager Hang, sich gemütlich und geistig frei zu ergehen, ohne sich an die störenden Bedürfnisse und hemmenden Schranken des gemeinen Lebens zu kehren, das überall rüstiges Handanlegen und resolute Konzentrierung des Willens auf bestimmte Einzelzwecke gebietet. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß die Deutschen sich durch diesen Hang besonders qualifizieren zu Kandidaten für jene olympische Versammlung der Urbilder aller Bummelei, deren Präsident Jupiter, deren Sekretär Apollo und deren Schatzmeisterinnen Hebe und Aphrodite hießen; so lang aber das Zeitalter des künftigen Hellenentums noch nicht angebrochen ist, verscherzen die Deutschen ihre Ansprüche darauf, indem sie es als Bummler vorwegnehmen wollen, ohne es als Männer errungen zu haben.

Daß sie noch eine Vorschule durchzumachen haben, ist auch aus anderen Rücksichten sehr dienlich. Im deutschen Bummlerleben spielt der Bauch noch eine zu große Rolle, als daß der olympische Vorrat von Nektar und Ambrosia ihn zufriedenstellen könnte. Essen und Trinken ist zwar noch von keinem Volk als etwas Ueberflüssiges oder Verwerfliches angesehen worden und man braucht kein homerischer Hellene zu sein, um selbst einen

tüchtigen Braten mit Poesie zu würzen; aber Fressen und Saufen, zumal wenn es zu einseitig und ausdauernd der Quantität huldigt, ist nach den neuesten Ermittelungen der Philosophie und Aesthetik nicht durchaus erforderlich, in der Gegenwart einen Mustermenschen und in der Zukunft einen Olympier aufzubauen. Die Engländer können keine Politik und sonstige öffentliche Angelegenheiten betreiben ohne Zweckessen; aber die Deutschen haben immer Eßzwecke ohne Politik und öffentliche Angelegenheiten. Die leitende Idee der deutschen Massen liegt mehr im Magen als im Kopf, und ihre Sparpfennige verwandeln sich immer eher in Bier und Wurst, als in Zeitungen und Bücher. Warten wir also mit dem Olymp, bis wir sicher sind, daß wir Apoll und die Musen nicht daraus vertreiben und den Ganymedes und die Hebe nicht zu Tode beschäftigen.

Jetzt stelle man mit der deutschen Bummlernatur das amerikanische Wesen zusammen. Weil der nüchterne Amerikaner nicht an unserem Gemüts- und Phantasie-Ueberfluß laboriert, deshalb ist sein Sinn berechnend auf das praktische Leben gerichtet, und wo wir träumen, schwärmen und idealisieren, da handelt und schafft und erwirbt er. Selbst wo ihn Unlust und Arbeitsscheu auf den Weg der Bummelei führen, da muß sie sich mehr oder weniger tätlich verhalten, und was als Deutscher ein Träumer wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Loafer; was als Deutscher ein Eckensteher wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Rowdy; was als Deutscher ein Vagabunde wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Flibustier. Der einzige Zustand, in welchem der Amerikaner wahrhaft bummelt, ist jene selige Gemüts- und Geistes-Verfassung, in welcher er vom Lehnstuhl aus als umgekehrter Titane die Schuhsohlen dem Olymp und das Haupt dem Orkus zukehrt. Der Amerikaner bummelt nur sitzend. Aber selbst in diesem Zustande kann er die Tat nicht ganz unterlassen: er zieht wenigstens die Lanze des Zahnstochers aus der Tasche, um auf die Infusorien seines Dentalsystems Jagd zu machen, oder das Federmesser, um das Fundament seines Bummelsystems, seinen Lehnstuhl, zu zerschnitzeln.

Was den Bauch oder Magen angeht, so hat der amerikanische entschieden eine geringere Leistungsfähigkeit als der deutsche, er arbeitet auch weniger auf Kosten des Kopfes. Wenig Amerikaner

entziehen ihr Geld der Presse, um es für den Bauch zu verwenden. Die Presse und die reine Wäsche, das sind zwei lobenswerte Bedürfnisse, welche der Amerikaner weder durch die Küche noch durch die Kneipe beeinträchtigen läßt. Man kann selbst den amerikanischen Bummler nicht eigentlich der Völlerei beschuldigen. Sein nervös tätiger, straff überzogener Körper ist dazu weniger disponiert als die phlegmatischere, mit loserem Ueberzug versehene, mehr zur Ausfüllung angelegte Natur des Deutschen. In seiner Phantasie spielen die Lebensmittel keine Rolle, er ißt nicht in Gedanken, sein Appetit ist nicht leidenschaftlicher Natur und er macht aus dem Essen kein Fest, es sei denn wenn er am „Thanksgivings"-Tage „Türkey" ißt. Was aber das Trinken betrifft, so eilt er rasch zum Ziel, ohne, bei seinem Mangel an Gemütlichkeit, den Weg für die Unterhaltung zu benutzen, er liebt, ohne Jean Paul'sche Phantasie, gleich Jean Paul den Geist „kondensiert", nämlich den Schnaps, er trinkt oder säuft, wie jenes kölnische Genie, „bloß der Wirkung wegen" und diese Wirkung ist die Entfesselung der Bestialität auf dem kürzesten Wege. „Im Wein ist Wahrheit", aber im Schnaps ist sie nicht minder, und während der Wein oder das Bier den deutschen Bummler treibt, seinen fremden Nachbar zu umhalsen, treibt vielleicht der Schnaps den amerikanischen, seinen nächsten Freund totzuschlagen. Amerikaner, lernt Wein trinken! Ißt und trinkt der Deutsche noch zu viel, um im Olymp Aufnahme zu finden, so ist euer Geschmack noch zu roh, um die Gesellschaft der Götter zu goutieren, denn Nektar "kratzt nicht auf der Zunge" und Ambrosia läßt sich nicht wie die Riesenaustern mit „Catsup" und Pfeffersauce verschlingen.

Soll ich einen alten Ausdruck für literarische Unterscheidungen zur Bezeichnung ethnographischer Unterschiede benutzen, so möchte ich sagen, die Deutschen seien ein sentimentales, die Amerikaner ein naives Volk. Die Sentimentalität, deren geistige Form das Reflektieren ist, nimmt das Handeln vorweg durch den geistigen Vorgeschmack desselben und ehe sie noch den Braten der Tat auf das Feuer setzt, sorgt sie schon dafür, daß er in einer recht reichlichen Sauce von Gefühl oder Betrachtung schwimme. Die Naivität aber serviert den Braten ohne Sauce, wenn er sie auf dem Feuer der Gesinnung nicht von selbst erzeugt. Die Sentimentalität unternimmt nichts, ohne sich im Spiegel der Reflexion be-

trachtet zu haben, und lernt es dadurch als höchstes Ziel ansehen, betrachtet zu werden. Daher ist sie auch die Hauptquelle der Eitelkeit, welche zum Kokettieren wie zum Renommieren führt und sich von der einen Seite durch unfruchtbare Versuchungen wie von der anderen durch leere Schaustellungen befriedigt. Nur die Deutschen können es ertragen, ja eine Genugtuung darin finden, die ganze künftige Freiheit in der Vorstellung und den ganzen Despotismus in der gegenwärtigen Wirklichkeit zu haben. Nur dem deutschen Volk war es möglich, einen Klopstock, Hölty und andere Poeten hervorzubringen, die so sehr von der Wirklichkeit zu abstrahieren verstanden, daß sie sich sogar abquälten mit sehnsuchtflennenden Gedichten an — man denke sich — die „künftige Geliebte". Liebeserklärungen einem Wesen zu machen, das gar nicht existiert, aber doch erst existieren muß, ehe es zu Liebeserklärungen Anlaß geben kann — ist das nicht die höchste Leistung sentimentaler Abstraktion? Und dieselben Liebhaber, die der „künftigen Geliebten" entgegenschmachteten, wären vielleicht wie ein ägyptischer Josephissimus davon gelaufen, wenn eine wirkliche den Zipfel ihres „deutschen Rockes" ergriffen hätte. Aehnlich haben sie es auch mit anderen Geliebten gehalten. Sie haben Gedichte gemacht an die künftige Freiheit und die künftige Revolution; als diese so oft gerufenen Damen aber endlich erschienen und ihren Werbern die ausgebreiteten Arme entgegenstreckten, da wandten die Schmachtenden verschämt die Augen und die Hände weg, alles Entgegenkommen war vergeblich und die befreiende Potiphara legte sich höhnend auf das andere Ohr.

Die amerikanische Naivität unterhält, befriedigt sich und kokettiert nicht mit dem Eindruck einer Tat, ehe sie getan ist, aber ergreift ohne Reflexion die Gelegenheit beim Schopf, wo sie sich bietet. Sie erzeugt so wenig einen eitlen Romantiker, wie einen allwissenden Kritiker, oder einen unschlüssigen Hamlet. Die Tat, das Vollbringen, als einziges Ziel im Auge, löst sie in ihren Willen nicht im Voraus auf in einem Brei von Betrachtungen über die Rolle die sie spielt und die Figur die sie macht. Der Amerikaner setzt sich aufs Pferd, um nach dem Ort seiner Bestimmung zu reiten, nicht aber, um sich zum Ziel von bewundernden Augen zu machen, welche die deutsche Selbstbetrachtung hinter jedem Vorhang vermuten wird. Kein Amerikaner würde mit

Herrn Kinkel, als er in aller deutschen Unschuld zur Revolutionszeit mit einem romantischen Heckerhut bewaffnet durch ein friedliches Tal der Pfalz ritt, ausgerufen haben: „wenn uns jetzt unsere Weiber sähen." Noch weniger würde ein Amerikaner, nach dem ersten fruchtlosen Versuch, mit Herrn Hecker im Walde den Karl Moor gespielt, das Pistol drohend betrachtet und den umstehenden Bäumen und Adjutanten versichert haben: „jetzt ist mein großes Leben zu Ende" — was bekanntlich nicht ganz der Fall war. Der Amerikaner sieht zunächst darauf, was er erreicht, der Deutsche darauf, welchen Effekt er macht, auch wenn er nichts erreicht. Der Amerikaner büßt dadurch freilich viel Romantik ein und handelt häufig auf Kosten der Aesthetik; aber was er als Romantiker und Aesthetiker verliert, das gewinnt er wenigstens als Mann. Indem ich diese Seite am Amerikaner hervorhebe, vergesse ich übrigens nicht, daß er an die Freiheit gewöhnt, daß die freie Betätigung ihm zur anderen Natur geworden ist in einem Lande, dessen ganze Entwicklung alle müßige und eitle Reflexion ausschloß, und daß daher seine ganze Erziehung ihn eben sowohl innerlich vor schwächlicher Selbstbespiegelung schützen, wie sie ihm eine größere Sicherheit des äußeren Auftretens gewähren mußte. Wir Deutschen dagegen hatten nur die Betrachtung frei; in der freien Betätigung haben wir erst begonnen uns zu versuchen. Mit Völkern geht es wie mit Kindern. Jedes Kind glaubt die Aufmerksamkeit aller Welt auf sich gerichtet und hört nicht auf zu paradieren, wenn es zum ersten Mal die Hosen an hat, und unsere deutschen Freiheitshosen sind noch ziemlich neu.

Merkwürdiger Weise gibt es eine, und zwar eine sehr praktische Richtung, in welcher die tatenbedürftige Energie der Amerikaner eine noch weit größere Scheu vor dem Handeln hat, als die zaudernde Kritik und ziellose Bummelei der Deutschen — ich meine die Revolution. Die Unempfindlichkeit und Geduld, mit welcher diese Scheu trotz aller Freiheit und allen Mitteln der Gegenwehr die empörendsten Mißhandlungen erträgt, wenn sie sich den Mantel der Gesetzlichkeit umhängen, ist ebenso beispiellos wie unbegreiflich. Fast die ganze Geschichte der Sklavenhalterei gibt dafür Zeugnis ab. Das sprechendste Zeugnis aber lieferten die Vorgänge in Kansas, durch welche man in Zweifel kam, ob man sich mehr gegen die Sklavenhalter und ihre Werkzeuge, oder

mehr gegen diejenigen empören sollte, welche sich von ihnen so ruchlos mißhandeln ließen. Erst durch einen schlichten Farmer mit grauen Haaren mußten die Gegner der Sklaverei über die Art belehrt werden, wie freie Männer sich gegen eine Tyrannei zu verhalten haben, die jede Art von Willkür und Schandtat im Namen des Gesetzes begeht. Nach den Erfahrungen in Kansas zu schließen, müßte man annehmen, daß ein entschlossener Präsident mit einem stehenden Heere von 50,000 Mann im Namen des „Gesetzes", der „Konstitution" und der „Union" alle Freiheiten der Republik zu vernichten im Stande wäre. Und doch hat dieses Volk schon im Jahre 1776 sich selbst die Regel des Handelns für die Fälle vorgezeichnet, in welchen eine Regierung despotischen Mißbrauch von ihren Mitteln macht. Die Unabhängigkeitserklärung, welche das Recht der Revolution voranstellt, sagt u. A.: „Wenn eine lange Kette von Mißbräuchen und widerrechtlichen Anmaßungen, die unveränderlich dasselbe Ziel im Auge haben, klar die Absicht anzeigt, die Menschen unter einen unumschränkten Despotismus zu zwingen, so haben diese das Recht, so ist es ihre Pflicht, eine solche Regierung abzuwerfen und für neue Schutzwehren ihrer zukünftigen Sicherheit zu sorgen." Nun, ich sollte denken, die „Kette" der sklavenhalterischen „Mißbräuche" und „Anmaßungen" ist schon „lang" genug und ihr „Ziel" und ihre „Absicht" ist ebenso unverkennbar, wie es klar ist, daß ohne Durchbrechung der konstitutionellen Schranken die Sklaverei nicht mehr unschädlich gemacht werden kann. Der sogenannte gesetzliche Fortschritt auf einer Basis, welche ein absolutes Unrecht gesetzlich sichert, kann ewig nur gesetzlicher Rückschritt sein. Trotz dieser unumstößlichen Wahrheit lassen die Amerikaner sich von dem „gesetzlich" gesicherten Unrecht lieber jede Ungesetzlichkeit gefallen, als daß sie durch ein kühnes Handeln, wozu namentlich Kansas Gelegenheit gab und wozu jeder nördliche Gouverneur durch jeden Sklavenauslieferungsfall Gelegenheit erhält, sich des Alps entledigen, der sie so lang gedrückt hat. Statt den Knoten der „gesetzlichen" Schlingen, wodurch sie nach und nach von einer Macht gefesselt und stranguliert werden, die sich selbst aller Fesseln entledigt, bei Zeiten mit einem rebellischen Messer zu durchschneiden — was schon deshalb das „Praktischste" wäre, weil „time money" ist —, lassen sie den Knoten unter endlosen Erniedrigungen und

Quälereien so fest verschlingen und schürzen, daß sie ihn später nicht mehr lösen können ohne sich selbst in den Hals zu schneiden. Bis zum Auftreten des alten Brown sind in Amerika die Sklavenhalter die einzigen Revolutionäre gewesen. Wenn dies alles nicht gegen den Verstand der Amerikaner sprechen soll, so muß es gegen ihren Mut sprechen und doch fehlt es ihnen im Allgemeinen nicht daran. Aber woran es ihnen fehlt, das ist außer der Aufopferungsfähigkeit für gewinnlose Geschäfte der Sauerteig radikaler Ideen, welcher ihren angelsächsischen, stereotyp geschulten Geist aus dem eingefahrenen Geleise des politischen wie kommerziellen Schachers heraustreibt. Mit diesem Artikel könnten ihnen die politischen Flüchtlinge Europas, namentlich die Deutschen, ebensowohl in der Politik aufhelfen wie im sozialen Leben. So wenig Nordamerika von den Engländern frei geworden ist ohne Revolution, so wenig wird es ohne Revolution frei werden von den Sklavenhaltern und es ist zu hoffen, daß an dieser Revolution die Deutschen einen rühmlicheren Anteil haben werden als an ihrer eigenen. Wir betrachten keinen Deutschen als Landsmann, der auf der Seite der Sklaverei steht, und wünschen im Interesse unserer Ehre jedem den Strick, der beim Entscheidungskampf in den Reihen der Menschenhändler getroffen wird.

Ich habe die Frage erhoben, wie es mit dem amerikanischen Mut bestellt sei. Der Mut ist ein Thema von Bedeutung, das wir auf Tribünen wie in Wirtshäusern alle Tage verhandeln hören, ohne darüber in's Klare zu kommen. Hier nur ein Paar Worte, Mut ist im allgemeinen die Fähigkeit, mit Bewußtsein und Kenntnis der Gefahr etwas zu wagen für einen Zweck. Er ist also zu messen nach dem, was gewagt wird, und nach dem, wofür etwas gewagt wird. Hat derjenige Mut, der sein Leben wagt für eine Dummheit? Er ist toll. Hat derjenige Mut, der seine Knochen preisgibt für eine Balgerei, aber keine Meinung abzugeben wagt für die Freiheit? Er ist roh und gemein. Herr Emerson sagte neulich, es gebe Menschen, die sich ruhig vor den Mund der Kanone stellen, aber nicht wagen den eigenen aufzutun. Ja, den Mund auftun, das ist der Hauptmut, auf den es bei den Fragen des Fortschritts ankommt und den man am meisten da vermißt, wo das Mundauftun ein verbrieftes Recht ist. Die J. Brown's des Wortes und der Feder sind seltener, als die J. Brown's der

Muskete. Hier, in diesem Lande, wo jeder im Stande ist, eine Rede zu halten, ist unter Tausenden nicht einer im Stande, den Mund aufzutun. Wer hält mehr Reden als die Amerikaner. Sie sind dazu in Stand gesetzt nicht nur durch eine langjährige Uebung, sondern auch durch den Mangel jenes Ideenüberflusses, dessen Sichtung und logische Verbindung mitunter das Haupthindernis selbst für begabte Menschen bildet, wenn sie dem momentanen Redebedürfnis entsprechen sollen. Die amerikanischen Redenhalter haben ihren Ideenvorrat wie ein „Set" von Werkzeugen stets übersichtlich zur Hand, weil er sich beschränkt auf diejenigen Dinge, mit denen sie sich in dem geschlossenen Kreise ihrer Politik und ihrer Geschäfte von jeher beschäftigt haben. Daher jenes ewige Wiederdreschen tausendmal durchdroschener Fragen; daher aber auch jene Sprachfertigkeit, welche in jedem Moment dem Geschäftsbedarf Genüge leistet. Am Redenhalter wird dann der Mund, was der Heber am Faße — ist er einmal am Laufen, so läuft er ganz von selbst, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß jedes Faß endlich leer wird, aber nicht jeder Redenhalter, denn das Ausgelaufene läuft immer wieder auf's Neue. Wie gesagt, trotz dieser Redefertigkeit fehlt den Meisten der Mut, sie für die rechten Dinge zu benutzen. Und weshalb? Weil das Risiko hier einen Punkt betrifft, den das rechnende „Büsineß" niemals aus den Augen setzt, nämlich den Geschäftsnachtheil, die Einbuße an Geld oder an Aussichten auf Gewinn und Stellungen. Der Mut des Soldaten bringt Sold und Erhöhung; der Mut des Entdeckers bringt Reichtum und Ruhm; aber was bringt der moralische? Kein Mut kostet mehr Geld als der moralische, denn er bringt keines ein. "It won't pay," sagen die Yankees. Zwar ist er ein Rentier, der von seinen Zinsen lebt; aber sein Kapital ist die Wahrheit und ihre Zinsen sind Entbehrungen und Verfolgungen. Für solche Zinsrechnung haben die Rechner des Dollars keine Passion. Wie der Deutsche den Mut und Entschluß in der Kritik und der Bummelei abschwächt, so hebt ihn der Yankee auf durch das Rechnen und dann macht er die Heuchelei zur Geschäftspraxis. Der Amerikaner scheut sich keineswegs Geld herzugeben für die Sache seiner Ueberzeugung, und das ist seine noble Seite; aber er scheut wie das Feuer die Gefahr, um seiner Ueberzeugung willen kein Geld mehr machen zu können, und das ist seine schwächste Seite.

Er gibt lieber 1000 bare Dollars für die Freiheit her, als daß er sich durch Bloßstellung für die Freiheit die Gelegenheit rauben läßt, 100 zweifelhafte Dollars zu „machen". Nicht der Geiz macht ihn zum Feigling, sondern die Habgier; nicht sowohl der Besitz, als vielmehr das Erwerben. Nicht mehr erwerben, nicht mehr „Geld machen" zu können ist für ihn die größte Strafe, weil das Geldmachen hier das größte Glück ist. Deshalb finden wir da den wenigsten moralischen Mut, wo das meiste Geld gemacht wird, so wie leider das wenigste Geld, wo der meiste moralische Mut ist. Der größte Feigling der Welt ist überhaupt der Geldsack, aber noch mehr der leere, der voll sein will, als der volle, der nicht leer werden will. Hätte ich einen Yankee zum Freund, ich würde mich im Fall der Not eher darauf verlassen, daß er zu meiner Rettung $10,000 opferte, als daß er riskirte, durch geoffenbarte Sympathie für meine Ungläubigkeit eine Kundschaft von $100 zu verlieren. Er will „available", möglich bleiben bei denen, die nicht seiner Ueberzeugung sind oder eben so ängstliche Rücksichten nehmen wie er. Das ist der Zauber der ihn bannt, das ist das Gift, das ihn entnervt, im Geschäfts- wie im politischen Leben. Die Rücksicht auf die „Availability" ist das Joch, das hier auch der hochmütigste Nacken trägt, und so wie fast jeder Politiker sich zum Kompromißmann machen läßt beim Gedanken an ein Amt, an einen Sitz im Kongreß und an den Präsidentenstuhl, so läßt fast jeder Geschäftsmann sich zum Heuchler machen durch den Gedanken an eine Spekulation, an ein Vermögen und an eine Million. Aber „available" zu bleiben für einen freien Mann, dem der Charakterstolz mehr gilt als alle Aemter und die Wahrheit mehr als alles Geld, das ist nur für wenige, vorzugsweise Verrufene ein Gegenstand des Ehrgeizes. Entschiedenheit gegen Sklaverei bildet auch in den freiesten Staaten noch einen Gegenstand gefürchteter Denunziation und so wie jeder Politiker vor dem Vorwurf zittert, er sei ein „Abolitionist", so verkriecht sich jeder Geschäftsmann und Literat vor dem Verdacht, er sei ein „Infidel". Die Peitsche, die den Sklaven zerfleischt, zerbrechen und das Kreuz, das die Menschheit niederdrückt, zu Boden werfen wollen — das ist ein Verbrechen, dessen sich hier Niemand beschuldigen läßt, der ein Amt erlangen oder ein Geschäft machen will. Schmach über diese Unmännlichkeit, Unehrlichkeit, Feigheit!

Trotz alledem wird der Mut überall geachtet, selbst vom Geldsack. Der Grund davon liegt wahrscheinlich in dem geheimen Gefühl, daß der Mutige dem Mutlosen die Notwendigkeit des Hervortretens und des Handelns ersparen hilft. Man lernt durch den Mut Anderer den Abstand berechnen, durch welchen man selbst von dem Punkt entfernt ist, wo zur Vertretung der Menschheitsinteressen Jeder verpflichtet ist mutig zu sein. Die Handlungsweise des Mutigen ist daher eine Art Herzenserleichterung für den Mutlosen. Der Erste übernimmt gleichsam die Pflicht des Letzteren und die Anerkennung, die er für sein Auftreten erhält, ist gleichzeitig ein Ausfluß der Erkenntlichkeit für einen geleisteten Dienst. Man könnte hiernach schließen, daß da, wo vom Mut der meiste Lärm gemacht wird, die meiste Erkenntlichkeit, d. i. die meiste Mutlosigkeit existiere.

Meiner Meinung nach sind die Amerikaner durch ihre natürliche Anlage, auf die doch zunächst das Meiste ankommt, befähigt, eines der mutigsten Völker der Erde zu sein und zwar ursprünglich als Soldaten oder Eroberer. Die westphälischen, friesischen und sonstigen Eichen, welche aus Nord-Deutschland in den keltischen Boden Britanniens verpflanzt wurden, haben in der englischen Seeluft jenes harte Produkt erzeugt, dessen Eigenschaften man hier durch den Vergleich mit dem Hickory bezeichnet. Hickory heißt die Unverwüstlichkeit und Unbeugsamkeit der Tatkraft, deren erstes Attribut der Mut ist. Soll ich den Vergleich weiter führen, so möchte ich den Amerikaner zur Hickorynuß, den Deutschen aber — nicht zur Eichel, die von den Schweinen gefressen wird, sondern zur — Wallnuß machen. Die Hickorynuß hat einen kleineren Kern, ein weniger volles Herz, aber ihre Schale widersteht dem Hammer des Schicksals; die Wallnuß hat ein größeres Herz, aber jeder Stoß bringt ihm eine Wunde durch die dünne Schale bei. Das Herz der Wallnuß in der Schale der Hickorynuß — das wäre die wahre Nuß, die kein Kinnbacken der Welt zu knacken vermöchte.

Eine weitere Vergleichung würde in das Gebiet der Physiologie und Phrenologie führen. Das Angelsachsentum hat durch die britannische Mischung an Festigkeit des Materials und an Schärfe des Gepräges bedeutend gewonnen; aber an der Schönheit der

Körperform hat es eingebüßt und seine Schädelform hat sich offenbar verengt. England hat eine Masse von solider Kraft und wackerem Talent, aber Beides arbeitet in engen, vom Herkommen tyrannisch aufrecht erhaltenen und sklavisch eingehaltenen Grenzen, hinter denen erst die wahre Welt der menschlichen Freiheit und des geistigen Lebens beginnt. Im Amerikanertum hat sich die angelsächsische Form einigermaßen wieder erweitert und variiert, aber, auf sich selbst beschränkt, müßte sie sich wieder stereotypieren und abnutzen wie jede abgeschlossene Lebens- und Gesellschaftsform. So weit ich beobachtet habe, ist die Schädelbildung der Amerikaner freier und edler entwickelt als die der Engländer; aber zu ihrer Vervollständigung würde sie der deutschen und französischen bedürfen. In einer Gesellschaft von Amerikanern wird man durchschnittlich mehr charakteristische Köpfe und scharfgeschnittene Physiognomien beobachten können als in einer gleich zahlreichen Gesellschaft von Deutschen. Unter den unterscheidenden Merkmalen aber wird man bei den Amerikanern die Verschiebung des Schädels nach hinten auf Kosten der Stirnbreite und das kräftige, vorstehende Kinn, bei den Deutschen den umfassender gewölbten Vorderkopf über einem schwächlicheren Untergesicht finden. Das Kinn liefert den Charakter der Bestimmtheit, der Festigkeit, der Positivität, der aggressiven Tatkraft. Es ist gleichsam das architektonische Fundament für die erste Etage der Physiognomie und die zweite des Gehirns; es ist der furchende Kiel, der dem Schiff die Bahn bricht und gleichzeitig die obere Wölbung vor dem Umschlagen sichert. Das Kinn aller Kinne hatte Napoleon, der Meister der kühnen Aggression und geschworene Feind der Ideologie. Ohne sein Gehirn hätte er freilich durch das Kinn es nicht zum Korporal gebracht; aber ohne das Kinn wäre er kein Welteroberer geworden, trotz seinem Gehirn. Man besehe sich die französischen Soldaten: was sie durchgängig auszeichnet, ist das kräftige, ich möchte sagen, das martialische Kinn, welches auch die alten Römerköpfe charakterisiert. Und dieses Kinn, über dem als entsprechende Weiterbildung der scharf geschnittene Mund als Gedankenstrich der Energie sich abzeichnet, finden wir bei den Amerikanern. Die Deutschen, unter denen es, wie gesagt, weit seltener zu finden, entschädigt als natürliche Ausgleichung eine weitere Ausbildung der Schädelform und zwar da, wohin die Phrenologen die Organe

der Idealität placieren. Ohne das Kinn hätten die Amerikaner dies Land der materiellen Kultur nicht unterworfen; ohne die Organe der Idealität wird es nicht für die geistige humanisiert werden. Das Kinn und der Schädel müssen in Harmonie gebracht werden, dem Kinn muß der Oberkopf mit der Kühnheit des Denkens, dem Oberkopf das Kinn mit der Kühnheit des Handelns zu Hülfe kommen, dann erobern sie die physische wie die geistige Welt.

Wie ich oben sagte, sind die Angelsachsen ursprünglich erobernde Soldatennaturen; aber die See hat ihre Agressivkraft in eine andere Bahn geführt, sie sind aus Soldaten Schiffer, aus Schiffern Kolonisatoren, aus Kolonisatoren Kaufleute geworden. Man könnte jetzt sagen: sie sind Soldaten moderiert durch das „Busineß", Säbel moderiert durch den Dollar, und auf diesem Punkt begegnet ihnen das Deutschtum mit der Forderung einer Moderation durch die Idee und für die Idee.

Dies leitet uns auf die Hauptbestimmung, welche die Deutschen in diesem Lande haben können.

Die Seele alles amerikanischen Lebens und Strebens ist der angeerbte englische Geschäftsgeist, der Handelsgeist, der Erwerbsgeist. Dieser, in seiner Ausschließlichkeit so verächtliche und verderbliche Geist beherrscht durchgängig die Gedanken wie die Wünsche, die Köpfe wie die Herzen, die Bildung wie die Moral, die Intelligenz wie die Gesinnung, die Politik wie das Privatleben und überträgt sich als Geist der egoistischen Berechnung auf alle Gebiete. Wo der Deutsche eine Phantasie hat, da hat der Amerikaner eine Spekulation; wo Jener eine Idee hat, da hat Dieser eine Zahl; wo Jener ein Prinzip hat, da hat Dieser ein Geschäft; wo Jener die Wissenschaft kultiviert, da kultiviert Dieser die Empirik; wo Jener die Kunst liebt, da liebt Dieser den Zeitvertreib; wo Jener nach Geschmack handelt, da handelt Dieser nach Profit; wo Jener die Aesthetik studiert, da studiert Dieser das Rechenbuch. Wo der amerikanische Geist diese Sphäre überschreitet, wo das zurückgedrängte geistige Bedürfnis sich Luft macht, wo ein höheres Interesse die Schranken des kalkulierenden Daseins durchbricht, da geht er gewöhnlich ex abrupto, ohne Zusammenhang mit logischen Motiven an's Werk und verirrt sich, weil er nicht

von Hause aus der Richtschnur ideeller Tendenzen, umfassender Wissenschaftlichkeit und logischen Denkens hat folgen gelernt, in das Gebiet einer mystischen Laune oder eines plötzlichen Einfalls und macht mit der ganzen fanatischen Einseitigkeit eines unverwendet gebliebenen Eifers aus der einen eine Religion, aus dem anderen eine Doktrin. Darauf beruht der Spiritualismus, der Temperenzeifer, der Sonntagsfanatismus, die Revival-Krankheit und ähnliche Schrullen der Einseitigkeit, von denen mitunter selbst die ausgezeichnetsten Menschen sich wahrhaft fanatisieren lassen im direktesten Gegensatz zu den Grundprinzipien, welche ihr sonstiges Glaubensbekenntnis bilden. Ich glaube, daß die Amerikaner die ausgezeichnetsten Talente für alle Gebiete des Lernens und Schaffens, des Denkens und Bildens haben würden, wenn nicht die „praktische" Einseitigkeit ihrer Erziehung und die spekulierende Beschränktheit ihres Strebenskreises, verbunden mit der Selbstgenügsamkeit ihres nationalen Dünkels, sie an der allseitigen Ausbildung und Entfaltung ihrer Kräfte hinderte. Wie aber die Dinge stehen, haben sie nicht einen einzigen Mann aufzuweisen, der das geistige Gebiet unter einen Ueberblick gebracht, die Grundprinzipien des geistigen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens in sich verarbeitet und ihre Konsequenzen nach allen Richtungen gezogen hätte. Wie viel geisttges, reformatorisches, ja revolutionäres Talent ist in Männern wie Parker, Emerson, W. Phillips u. A., vereinigt. Und wie Großes würden solche Männer in jeder Richtung zur Entfesselung der Geister aus den Banden alter Anschauungen leisten, wenn sie nicht selbst noch zum großen Teil darin befangen wären. Man empfindet ein schmerzliches Bedauern, wenn man solche Männer mit dem Schritt geistiger Riesen heute die Bahn der Freiheit wandeln und morgen schwächlich von der Straße abbiegen und in einer Kapelle des Aberglaubens sich auf die Knie werfen, oder in einer Schutzanstalt für Unmündige Zuflucht suchen sieht. Sie haben bei all ihrem Talent und all ihrer freien Gesinnung keinen Begriff von dem, was wir Deutschen unter Radikalismus verstehen, von jener selbstherrlichen Stellung des menschlichen Geistes in der Natur, von jener kosmischen Allseitigkeit, von jener stolzen Rücksichtslosigkeit bei der Bloßlegung der Wurzeln aller Erkenntnis und jener umfassenden Uebersicht und Konsequenz, welche alle Gesetze der Entwicklung im Zusammen-

hang zu erfassen und dadurch die Entwicklung selbst in Harmonie zu bringen sucht. Die an den Amerikanern gerühmte Taktik, ihre Tätigkeit immer auf eine Frage zu konzentrieren, bis sie erledigt ist, wird zum Fehler der Einseitigkeit und Beschränktheit, wenn dabei der leitende Ueberblick fehlt, welcher den Zusammenhang mit anderen Fragen festhalten und deren Vernachlässigung verhüten lehrt, so wie bei den Deutschen der umfassende Ueberblick nur zu oft von der Tätigkeit für das Einzelne, zunächst Nötige ableitet. Was hilft es, die Menschheit heute in einer einseitigen Richtung vorwärts zu treiben, wenn sie morgen zur Umkehr genötigt ist, um das in einer anderen Richtung Versäumte nachzuholen? Die Kultur-Entwicklung muß harmonisch vor sich gehen wie die körperliche. Am Körper wächst nicht heute ein Arm, morgen der Magen und übermorgen der Kopf. Alle Organe und Glieder wachsen und entwickeln sich im Zusammenhang und in Uebereinstimmung. So kann auch an dem organisch zu gestaltenden Ganzen der Kultur nicht ohne Nachteil heute die politische Bildung wachsen, um nachher die vernachlässigte geistige an die Reihe kommen zu lassen; nicht heute die wissenschaftliche, um die politische auf unbestimmte Zeiten zu vertagen; nicht heute die ökonomische, um bei verspäteter Gelegenheit mit der ästhetischen zu beginnen. Vor allem aber ist es beschränkt, töricht, geradezu wahnwitzig, politische und soziale Freiheit zu erwarten ohne religiöse. Alle verschiedenen Zweige der Kultur müssen gleichmäßig wachsen, und damit sie dies können, müssen sie dem nämlichen Stamm und der nämlichen Wurzel entsprossen sein. Die Wurzel ist aber das autonomische, freie, aller außermenschlichen Autorität und Zwecke entkleidete, souverän auf dem Gebiete der Natur thronende, alles Wissen und Denken in Uebereinstimmung mit den Naturgesetzen für seine eignen Zwecke beherrschende Menschentum. Hier ist der entscheidende Punkt, wo alle angelsächsische Kultur sich abwendet oder in die Knie sinkt. Und der Grund dazu liegt sicher mehr in der Gesinnung, als im Kopf, mehr im Mangel an humaner Erziehung, als im Mangel an natürlichem Verstand. „Gott fürchtet", wer gelernt hat sich selbst zu fürchten. Wie nur Derjenige äußeren Temperenzzwang verlangt, der sich selbst nicht vor Unmäßigkeit bewahren kann, so sucht gegen Versuchungen der Unmenschlichkeit nur Derjenige außermenschlichen Beistand, der im Denken und

Fühlen nicht ganz Mensch ist. Die Angelsachsen müssen schon deshalb beschränkte Christen sein, weil ihre, geschichtlich ihnen anerzogene allmächtige Habgier, die als Mittel ihrer Befriedigung ebensowenig Blutvergießen und Sklaverei wie Heuchelei und Kriecherei scheut, sie innerlich noch zu Barbaren macht. Die Engländer sind das einzige Volk, welches den Geldbesitz als persönlichen „Wert" eines Menschen in Ansatz bringt, so daß, wer keinen Cent hat, keinen Cent „wert" ist; sie sind auch das einzige Volk, welches sich durch das Geld zum Henker machen läßt, indem es den Diebstahl mit dem Galgen bestraft. Merkwürdig: das Mittel des Lebens schlagen Diejenigen am höchsten an, die das Leben selbst am Wenigsten zu schätzen und zu benutzen wissen. Wer das Geld so hoch einschätzt, wem der Diebstahl so schwer wiegt wie der Mord, der hat zu sehr das Bewußtsein des Barbaren, um den Zaum des Glaubens fallen zu lassen, und zu sehr den Hang des Tiermenschen, um sich als Freidenker zurechtzufinden. Das erste und letzte Wort des Angelsachsen ist „Selfgovernment" und doch stehen alle ihre Gedanken unter dem Government einer eingebildeten Macht in den Wolken, weil ihr Sinnen und Trachten das Bedürfnis einer äußeren Bändigung fühlt. Baco hat den Engländern die Philosophie gelehrt, mittelst der Wissenschaft sich die Natur zu unterwerfen, aber sie tun es, um sich selbst einem Herrn der Natur zu unterwerfen, den diese zurückweist; Locke hat ihnen die Philosophie gelehrt, die Erfahrung und die Sinne als die Quellen aller Erkenntnis anzusehen, aber sie benutzen sie, um einen Gespensterglauben zu unterhalten, der aller Erfahrung und allen Sinnen Hohn spricht. Sie lassen den Himmel voll Wolken, damit sie, freilich mit aller Freiheit, auf Erden im Nebel und Kote wandeln können. Wir Deutschen haben wenigstens für die Freiheit des Kopfes gesorgt, wenn wir auch unsre Glieder noch nicht entfesseln konnten. Erlangen wir die äußere Freiheit, so bringen wir die innere schon mit.

Die Beschränkung, die ich mir in den Grenzen dieses Vortrags auferlegen muß, erlaubt keine weitläufige Besprechung der amerikanischen Literatur; doch darf sie bei einem Blick in die Zukunft, auf den meine Bemerkungen hinausführen, nicht ganz übergangen werden. Das Material einer Literatur wird geliefert durch das abstrakte Denken, durch das positive Wissen, durch die geschichtliche

Ueberlieferung und durch das Schaffen der Phantasie. Die oberflächliche Betrachtung der amerikanischen Zustände ergibt, daß jenes Material in diesem Lande nicht in hinreichendem Maße vorhanden ist und vorhanden sein kann, um eine eigentlich nationale Literatur zu erzeugen, die im Verhältniß stände zu der materiellen Entwicklung. Vom abstrakten Denken habe ich im Vorhergegangenen genug gesagt. Was die Wissenschaft betrifft, so hat man die deutsche längst als die Amme der hiesigen erkannt, wenn auch ihre Hauptträger nicht hier residieren und der Plagiarismus sie oft genug verleugnet. Die Geschichtsschreibung scheint sich schon jetzt erschöpft zu haben, weil ihr die Geschichte fehlt, und ihr bedeutendster Repräsentant mußte seine Stoffe in Europa suchen. Die Politische Oekonomie hat hier die meisten Aussichten, doch ohne radikale politische Kritik, die hier vor dem Aberglauben an die bestehenden Formen verstummt, kann sie auf keine große Erfolge rechnen. Die Literarische Kritik ist oberflächlich und anarchisch, offenbar weil ihr die literarische Geschichte fehlt, an der sie sich heranbilden könnte. Was aber die Schöne Literatur, speziell die Poesie, angeht, so fehlt derselben in Amerika trotz allen Talenten wieder ein notwendiges Requisit, nämlich ebenfalls der geschichtliche Boden. Wenn Göthe Amerika gratuliert hat, daß es keine Vergangenheit und keine „Basalte" habe wie „Europa das alte", so hat er ihm damit keinen Vorzug in literarischer Beziehung zuerkannt. Der Baum der geistigen Entwicklung eines Volkes muß Zeit haben, über die Region seiner häuslichen Einrichtung hinauszuwachsen, ehe er die vollen Blüten einer gediegenen Literatur hervortreiben kann. Hundert Jahre mögen genügen, einen Kontinent zu entwildern und mit Häusern zu besäen, aber sie genügen nicht, den notwendigen geschichtlichen Bodensatz zur Hervorbringung einer nationalen Kulturblüte zu bilden. Die geistige Blüte erfordert einen tieferen Humus und längere Bearbeitung des Bodens, als die vegetabilische. Die amerikanische Literatur schmeckt noch, wie der amerikanische Wein, nach der Erde. Was Europa produziert hat, konnte erst als das Resultat einer Jahrtausende alten Kultur zu Stande kommen. Amerika kann ihm nicht eine neue Art Kultur ex abrupto vormachen wollen, es kann keine Geschichtsentwicklung improvisieren, es muß die Schätze der europäischen übernehmen, verarbeiten und einbürgern. Man ver-

gegenwärtige sich die Art und den Gehalt derjenigen poetischen Aufgaben und Schöpfungen, in denen es Originelles produziert hat. In dem ernsten Drama und dem sog. Heldengedicht hat es fast gar nichts geleistet und selbst dies Wenige ruht auf europäischen Reminiszenzen. Es hat auch dazu keine eigne, das Volk lebendig interessierende Stoffe, weil es keine Vergangenheit hat, die weit genug hinabreicht, um der Poesie bei der Behandlung historischer Figuren die nötige Freiheit zu erlauben, abgesehen davon, daß sie ihr nicht den erforderlichen Reichtum an geeigneten Erscheinungen darbietet. Die amerikanische Geschichte ist bis in alle Details zu bekannt und zu nüchtern, um als Quelle pathetischer Poesie zu dienen. Für das Lustspiel, das mit seinen Stoffen an keine Zeit gebunden ist, scheint hier die meiste Disposition und das meiste Talent vorhanden zu sein; aber der rohe und ungereinigte Geschmack, dessen Gesetz die naturwüchsige Willkür ist und den keine Kritik kontrolliert, läßt es zur pöbelhaften Posse und Farce herabsinken und ermuntert keine edlere Schöpfung. Der Roman und die lyrische Poesie — wo finden sie ihren interessantesten Stoff? Im Urwald bei den trostlosen, finstern, unzivilisierbaren Indianern. Der rohe Urwald, der Aufenthalt der Bären und der Rothäute, bildet für die Amerikaner den geschichtlichen Hintergrund der Poesie, und weil sie selbst keine Vergangenheit haben, nehmen sie die Romantik der Indianer zu Hülfe. Es begegnet ihnen dabei das Unglück, daß sie sich begeistern für die Schönheiten und Tugenden von Menschen, die sie überall wegen des Gegenteils mit Eifer aus der Welt zu schaffen suchen. Es ist, als wollten sie dieselben möglichst bald vollständig historisch machen, um ihren Kirchhof mit Ruhe als Blumenbeet ihrer Poesie benutzen zu können, und als wollten sie ihre Personen bloß vernichten, um ungestörte Erben des Zierrats ihrer wild klingenden Namen zu werden. Schlagen wir die ruchlosen, gemeinen Indianer tot, damit wir die tugendhaften, edlen Erschlagenen besingen können!

In dem Walde der deutschen Literatur werden die Amerikaner bessere Motive, Anregungen und Hülfsquellen für die Bereicherung ihrer geistigen Welt finden, als in den öden Schlupfwinkeln der Barbaren des Urwaldes. Die Passion für die Romantik des Urwaldes ist roh wie der Urwald selbst; der Sinn für Bildung

wendet sich den Sitzen der Bildung zu, und die Aneignung Dessen, was Andre für sie getan, kann nicht beschämen, sondern nur ehren. Ist es demütigender, den Geist des Meisters Goethe zu studieren, als den Geist eines Skalpiermeisters? Kein Amerikaner fühlt sich dadurch beschämt, daß die deutsche Musik hier eingebürgert ist; wie könnte es ihn beschämen, auch die deutsche Literatur einzubürgern? Wie unsre Tonsprache, muß auch unsre Schriftsprache hier ein anerkanntes Bürgerrecht erlangen, sie muß nicht bloß geduldet, sondern kultiviert, nicht bloß Gegenstand der Liebhaberei, sondern des Bedürfnisses werden. Und sie wird es werden in demselben Verhältnis, in welchem der Geist wahrer Bildung hier fortschreitet. Jeder Deutsche lernt hier Englisch, so gut er kann; so sollte auch jeder gebildete Amerikaner Deutsch verstehen. Der Hauptvorteil wäre dabei auf seiner Seite. Die Kultivierung einer fremden, namentlich der deutschen Sprache wird den Amerikanern nicht bloß in eine neue Welt von Anschauungen und Ideen einführen, sondern sie wird ihm auch jene Beschränktheit nationaler Exklusivität nehmen, die ihn so oft unleidlich macht. Ein Risiko hat er dabei nicht, und es ist für diese kosmopolitische Republik so wenig eine Demütigung, daß sie sich durch die Intelligenz und die Bildung, wie daß sie sich durch das Kapital und die Arbeitskraft der Eingewanderten bereichert. Das geschichtliche Defizit, welches der Entwicklungsfonds dieses Landes aufweist, kann durch keinen Zuschuß besser gedeckt werden, als durch den, welchen die deutsche Einwanderung und Literatur darbietet. Nachdem das Amerikanertum sich als selbstständiger Ableger vom Engländertum abgetrennt, steht es demselben zu fremd gegenüber, als daß es dessen Literatur ohne den Stempel des geistigen Vasallentums übernehmen könnte.* Es muß trotz der Gemeinsamkeit der Sprache zum Engländertum auch in der literarischen Welt einen Gegensatz, wenigstens eine eigentümliche, die Originalität ersetzende Differenz bilden, wozu es aber die Mittel nur gewinnt durch Aufnahme eines dritten Elements und dies ist naturgemäß das deutsche. Die Aufnahme des deutschen Geistes macht den amerikanischen nicht zum Vasallen, sondern nur zum literarischen Mitbürger. Auch hat er von demselben kein bedrückendes Uebergewicht im Staatsleben zu

* Und heute! Amerika ist nicht nur literarisch, sondern auch politisch zum Vasallen Englands herabgesunken.

fürchten. Es liegt in der kosmopoltischen Natur des Deutschen, daß er seinen Geist und sein Wesen kann Propaganda machen sehen ohne dadurch im Staat herrschsüchtig zu werden. Er kann nur nicht verzichten auf das Recht dieser Propaganda und auf die Anerkennung Dessen, was ihm durch keine Vernunftgründe streitig zu machen ist. Auf diesem Punkt trifft er aber noch immer mit einem unedlen, kleinlichen Zug zusammen, der im Amerikanertum noch gehässiger hervortritt, als im Engländertum: ich meine die gemachte, forcierte Geringschätzung oder Nichtschätzung Dessen, was seinen Gesichtskreis und seine Leistungsfähigkeit überragt. Diese Untugend bezeugt gerade das Gegenteil Dessen, was sie zur Schau tragen möchte: sie bekundet Schwäche statt Selbstgefühl, Beschränktheit statt Ueberlegenheit und kommt schließlich auf den ordinärsten Eigennutz hinaus. Die Amerikaner lassen es sich gefallen, einen Goethe und Humboldt aus der Ferne zu bewundern. Lebten Goethe und Humboldt als Eingewanderte in Amerika, sie würden, wenn auch nicht geringgeschätzt, doch sicher ignoriert werden, wenn sie ihre Superiorität nicht dadurch abbüßten, daß sie sich den Amerikanern auf die eine oder die andre Art unterordneten oder dienstbar machten. Man würde sie zwar respektieren, aber schweigend. Respekt ist eben keine Sache der Willkür, es kann ihn niemand beliebig mit Geringschätzung vertauschen; aber geäußerter Respekt ist Anerkennung, und Anerkennung einer Superiorität ist Zugeständniß der eigenen Inferiorität. Ueberdies aber ist sie dem Rechner eine Art Bezahlung, und ein Kaufmann bezahlt nur wo er etwas kauft. Edle und unabhängige Geister aber verkaufen sich nicht, sie dienen nur allgemeinen Ideen und erwarten Anerkennung als menschlichen Tribut, nicht als kaufmännische oder paarteihändlerische Bezahlung. Wer den allgemeinen Ideen nicht ebenfalls dient, hat gar kein Recht, ihren Vertretern mit seiner eigennützigen Bewunderung zu nahen; wer die allgemeinen Ideen aber anerkennt, muß es für unedel und unrecht halten, ihren eingewanderten Trägern die Ueberlegenheit des hausherrlichen Herkommens an der Stelle von Vernunftgründen fühlbar zu machen und eine dienende Anbequemung als Preis der Anerkennung abzufordern. Das Geistige und Humane hat ein natürliches Recht,

seinen wahren Wert bedingungslos zur Geltung zu bringen, wo es auch sei.

Die Einbürgerung und Kultivierung der deutschen Sprache und Literatur als eines unentbehrlichen amerikanischen Entwicklungselements wird diesem Lande mehr Ruhm und Nutzen bringen, als die ganze Weisheit jener bevorzugten Geister, welche durchaus die „Fremden“ „amerikanisieren“ und „Amerika regieren“ müssen. Sie ist auch das einzige Mittel, die Scheidewand umzuwerfen, welche die entscheidenden Teile der amerikanischen Bevölkerung noch trennt. Wenn die Amerikaner es als einen Gewinn betrachten lernen, geistig deutsch zu werden, können die Deutschen es nicht mehr als einen Verlust ansehen, politisch Amerikaner zu werden.

Nicht „Amerikaner“ müssen Amerika regieren, sondern die Intelligenz, die humane Bildung und die Grundsätze der Freiheit. An diesem Regiment aber werden wir Deutschen unsern berechtigten Anteil haben. Eben die Grundsätze der Freiheit erinnern wieder und werden fortwährend erinnern an das Hauptverbrechen, an dem Amerika krankt, an dem es noch kranken würde, wenn es auch den Krebsschaden der Sklaverei ausgeschieden hätte, und zu dessen Neutralisierung vorzugsweise Diejenigen einen Beruf haben, die noch nicht „amerikanisiert“ sind und es niemals werden wollen. Es ist der schon besprochene Handelsgeist, der Geist der Habgier und des Schachers, der, wie er das ganze Leben beherrscht, sich entsittlichend und reagirend auch auf das Gebiet der politischen Grundsätze übertragen hat. In dieser handelsgeschäftlichen Atmosphäre ist die Verwaltung der Republik ein Handelsgeschäft geworden wie jedes andre; die Politiker sind Rechner geworden wie die Kaufleute und sie rechnen mit Grundsätzen wie diese mit Zahlen. Man addiert, subtrahiert und dividiert Prinzipien wie Ziffern, nur das Multiplizieren scheint man zu scheuen; passen ganze Prinzipien nicht in den Handel, so halbiert oder vierteilt man sie und nennt das ein Kompromiß. Wenn die Deutschen mit ihrer humanen Bildung und Prinziptreue irgendwo am Platze sind, so ist es da, wo es gilt, Handelsgeschäfte mit Grundsätzen zu hintertreiben. Der verstorbene Rob. Wesselhöft von Brattleboro sagte: „die Amerikaner zeichnen sich aus durch Treue gegen die Partei, die Deutschen durch Treue gegen die Prinzipien.“ Wir hätten

unseren Ruhm gesichert, wenn wir diesen Ausspruch stets bewahrheiteten und es dahin brächten, daß Treue gegen die Prinzipien immer das einzige Mittel wäre, uns zur Treue gegen die Partei zu bewegen. Die Voraussetzung, daß die gerühmte deutsche Ehrlichkeit und Idealität sich hier in die gemeine amerikanische „Smartneß" und „Praxis" verkehren können, würde eben so wohl einer Verzichtleistung auf unsre ganze Zukunft gleichkommen, wie die Annahme, daß die deutsche Abhängigkeit und Unterwürfigkeit unter dem hiesigen Parteiregiment sich in derselben Weise bewähren werde, wie drüben unter dem Regiment der Fürsten. Wenn es nicht unsere Mission ist, hier ohne gemeinen Eigennutz wie ohne servile Abhängigkeit den Radikalismus auszubreiten, die Wahrheit nach allen Seiten aufrecht zu halten, die Resultate der deutschen Bildung einheimisch zu machen und die konsequente Befolgung der Freiheitsgrundsätze zu kontrollieren, so haben wir keine Mission und wir sollten dann mit dem ersten Schiff dorthin zurückkehren, wo die Untertanen wenigstens den Mangel an äußere Freiheit als Ursache anklagen können, daß sie als Menschen und Männer nicht die Probe bestehen.

Die interessantesten Fragen, die Amerika zu lösen gibt, betreffen seine Zukunft. Wer kann vorherbestimmen oder berechnen, was aus diesem, ohne geschichtliches Vorbild und Beispiel entstandenen Tummelplatz der Entwickelung noch werden wird? Der Eine hat Nordamerika das neue Rom, der Andre das neue Phönizien, der dritte gar das neue Karthago genannt. Alle diese Vergleiche hinken mit beiden Beinen. Nordamerika spottet deshalb jeder Berechnung, weil es niemals fertig ist, weil es sich mit jedem Tage verändert, weil es räumlich wie gesellschaftlich stets am Wachsen ist, weil es immer neue Kultur-Elemente, die rohesten wie die gebildetsten, in sich aufnimmt und fortwährend in allen Richtungen neue Beziehungen und Bedingungen der Entwicklung erzeugt wie kein andres Land der Welt. Wie aber auch die Zukunft dieser ewig bewegten Republik sich gestalten mag, als Hauptanhalt zur Berechnung ihrer kommenden Geschichte muß die Natur und Bedeutung derjenigen Volkselemente dienen, welche hier den Ausschlag geben, und das werden und müssen neben den Amerikanern die Deutschen tun. Demnach wird das interessanteste Rätsel der nordamerikanischen Zukunft in der Frage stecken: welches Völkergebilde

und welche Entwicklung wird aus der Verbindung der amerikanischen und der deutschen Natur und Kultur hervorgehen? An der Lösung dieses Rätsels mitzuarbeiten, ist für alle geistig Strebenden eine würdige, ja eine große Aufgabe.

Mögen, wenn es einmal sein soll und muß, unsre europäischen Lieblingspläne in Nichts verlaufen wie die Irrfahrt eines Entdeckers, mögen die Wogen der Zeit über unsern alten Hoffnungen zusammenschlagen wie die Brandung über dem Wrack, mag der Sturm der Ereignisse die Spur unserer früheren Bestrebungen verwehen wie Fußtapfen in der Wüste —, es darf auch dies unsern Charakter nicht beugen, unsern Geist nicht lähmen und was wir drüben in Trümmer gehen sahen, müssen wir hier auf andrer Grundlage neu zu gestalten suchen. Der souveräne Geist der Freiheit und Humanität, der fort und fort in uns gebietet, pflanzt seine Fahne mit unverjährbarer Berechtigung auch in der neuen Welt als Besitzergreifer auf und wenn einst die Geschichte seine Taten mustert, möge auch unser Name in ihren Blättern stehen.

Seien wir überzeugt, daß auch hier unser Wirken nicht vergeblich ist. Das Deutschtum muß in Amerika eine Zukunft haben, oder seine Vergangenheit war eine Lüge. Eine Bevölkerung von fünf Millionen, die ihre Sitten diesem Lande schon aufzuprägen begonnen, ihre Kunst und Geschicklichkeit an allen Enden zum Bedürfnis gemacht, ihrem Geist in der Presse wie in der Schule einen festen Halt gegeben, eine solche Bevölkerung, die trotz allen sonstigen Differenzen an einer gemeinsamen Sprache, Literatur und Vergangenheit festgehalten, kann im Gewühl der hiesigen Entwicklung nicht mehr verschwinden, kann nicht von einer anderen Nationalität absorbiert werden, sie muß also ihre Weiterentwicklung nach ihren eigenen Anlagen und ihrem eigenen Charakter durchsetzen. Eine Nationalität, die absorbiert werden soll, darf der absorbierenden nicht an Kulturentwicklung gleichstehen oder überlegen sein. Die Griechen impften den Römern ihre Kultur ein, obschon sie von ihnen erobert waren, und uns haben die Amerikaner nicht erobert. Lassen wir uns dennoch absorbieren, so sind wir nicht wert zu existieren, so sind wir, wie ich mich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit ausgedrückt, bloßer Mist auf dem Felde fremder Kultur. In der Ueberzeugung, daß das Deutschtum hier nicht unter-

gehen kann, liegt eine mächtige Triebfeder, es zu kultivieren. So lang Zweifel bestehen an der Zukunft des deutschen Elements, ist die Teilnahme an seiner Entwicklung gelähmt; der Glaube an diese Zukunft aber muß jede Kraft anspannen, zu ihrer würdigen Vorbereitung beizutragen. Deutsches Schulwesen, deutsche Wissenschaft, deutsche Kunst, deutsche Presse und Literatur im Sinne der Freiheit zu unterstützen und zu pflegen, das ist eine gebieterische Aufgabe für Jeden, der der Zivilisation angehört, und zugleich das einzige Mittel der Entschädigung für die verlorenen Bestrebungen der Vergangenheit.

THE PREMISES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S LETTER TO THEODORE CANISIUS

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I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; * * * in Ohio, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law. * * * In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up a half a dozen national conventions, if it gets into them.—A. Lincoln to Schuyler Colfax, July 6, 1859.

In its issue of May 25, 1859, *The Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque, Iowa, the most influential Democratic paper in the state at that time, contained the following racy editorial article, the product probably of the editor's own pen, Mr. J. B. Dorr's:

The Leaders Panic Stricken

> A class "in definitions" was reciting its lessons in school once upon a time, where we were present, when the word "panic" fell to the lot of a boy who had a good deal of native talent, but was rather negligent of his studies. This little fellow abhorred the idea of an appearance of failing and would always say something whether right or wrong. The teacher repeated, "John define 'panic'." John hesitated a moment as if collecting his thoughts, and then spoke up,—"Panic, Sir, Yes, Sir, panic is a dog running most scared to death, with a tin pan at his tail."
>
> This boy's definition of panic was forcibly brought to mind yesterday in looking over a number of our Republican exchanges in which we observed the panic struck running and dodging of the Republican leaders of the Northwestern states. Their alarm is awful, their fright is complete, and they are "running most scared to death,"

as if they were precisely in the predicament of the boy's dog.

The "tin pan" effectively attached to the "narrative" of their party is *the proscriptive action of Republican Massachusetts* and her placing naturalized white men beneath the Negro in political rights. In Massachusetts the party of shams is strong enough to be independent of the German votes, but in the Northwestern states this is not the case. Hence the leaders here are panic stricken, lest the action of their party in that state excite disaffection in the minds of intelligent and honest Germans of this region.

In order, therefore, to prevent this result, these frightened leaders are just now performing some tall feats, by way of endeavoring to run away from the *thing of terror* which eastern Republicanism has firmly fastened on their party. They cannot do it, however. The more they run the more frightened they appear to become, and do all they can, they still feel the dreaded thing clinging to their cowering carcasses—they fear it will be the death of them, and probably it will.

The first symptoms of terror among them in this portion of the Union, were shown by the "Republican State Central Committee" of this State, in their issue of a set of resolutions condemning the action of their Massachusetts brethren in the name of the party in Iowa.—This document was followed by letters from the Congressional delegation. About the same time with these the panic began to operate among the leaders in Illinois and Wisconsin, and it has increased until the present time. It now seems to be at its highest pitch, and the whole brood of Republican leaders from Lincoln down to Wentworth are uttering their disclaimers, issuing letters deprecatory and denunciative, and presenting to the mind's eye the picture of a hundred howling curs in the same predicament as the boy's panic stricken dog.

Well, it is none of our funeral. * * *

The panic thus particularly referred to by Mr. Dorr's paper was the nation-wide disturbance produced among German Republicans and in consequence among the leaders and managers of the Republican party by the proposal and final adoption on May 9th in a state referendum by the people of Massachusetts of what was currently called the "Two Year" Amend-

ment to their constitution, whereby the right of voting and holding office in the Old Bay State was denied to the foreign-born until they could certify a residence within the United States of seven years with naturalization as a prerequisite therein. Mr. Dorr's caustic comments, while strong and sweeping, were in fact not without warrant.

The sudden display of energy by the Republican leaders of Iowa and Illinois during April and May in direct and obvious attempts to placate the German voters indicated that the party chiefs experienced a degree of anxiety and perplexity so urgent as to approximate panic. The developments in Iowa and the aggressive measures of the Republican leaders west of the Mississippi attracted general attention, and as the narrative will display, produced the urgency and specific developments in Illinois. Within two weeks of the publication of the resolutions and letters of the leaders in Iowa, sundry resolutions, and explicit and emphatic statements were given forth in Illinois by seven of the foremost leaders of the Republican party, each declaring hostility to the principle and policy of the "Two Year" Amendment of Massachusetts.

Mr. Dorr's editorial exhibits another fact of no small significance. His specific reference to Abraham Lincoln and the mode of the reference signalize in a definite and substantial fashion the high altitude of his interstate reputation and the marked consideration given his views and actions outside of Illinois a year before he was nominated by the National Republican convention at Chicago, May 18, 1860. Mr. Dorr was an editor with no little influence among Democratic partisans. It was to him Senator Stephen A. Douglas addressed a noteworthy letter on June 22, 1859, stating the terms on which he would consent to be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency before the Charleston convention; and he had a keen eye for the major facts and personalities in the impending political campaign.

The occasion of Mr. Dorr's reference to Abraham Lincoln was the publication a few days before in the press of Illinois and Iowa, of a letter to a fellow-townsman of Springfield, Dr.

Theodore Canisius, editor of a then recently established German paper, *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*. Mr. Lincoln's letter was written in response to some particular inquiries addressed to him by a committee of Germans of that city with a view to discovering his attitude towards the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment. The letter had a double, if not a triple, significance. The writer's distinction by reason of the national fame he had achieved in his debates with Senator Douglas in 1858 made any expression of his on matters in controversy in politics a fact of general interest. It was significant because Mr. Lincoln was not accustomed to indulging in epistolary effusions, being more than ordinarily cautious in this respect. The exigency that would elicit such a letter, Mr. Dorr could easily discern, was nothing else than the threatening belligerency of the Germans. The letter was extensively reprinted in the Republican press of the country, both German and American papers publishing it entire.

The letter to Dr. Canisius became, in the present writer's judgment, a primary fact, and perhaps the major fact, in the production of that favorable state of mind among the liberty-loving, progressive Germans that caused them to be reconciled to, and instantly to applaud the nomination of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency by the Republican party a year later. The substantial truth of this assertion is clearly indicated in the fact that immediately upon the reception of the news that Mr. Lincoln had been nominated at Chicago the Republican and Independent press throughout the country, both German and American, very generally reprinted the letter entire; with the positive assertion, or with the implication, that the Germans and the friends of the foreign-born had therein indubitable proof of the liberality of the Republican candidate for the Presidency on which they could rely with confidence respecting his course, should he be elected, in matters of legislation and public policy affecting the status of the foreign-born.

In what follows the premises of Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius will be exhibited. Two major objectives are chiefly contemplated: first the demonstration of the causal relation of prior developments in Iowa to the formulation and publication

of Mr. Lincoln's letter; and, second, the exhibition of antecedent and collateral developments in Illinois that produced the concentration which constrained Mr. Lincoln to reply to Dr. Canisius.

The important facts as to the origin and nature of the disturbance produced among Republicans in the northwest states by the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts, and the range and significance of the agitation resulting—especially as regards Iowa—have been given by the present writer in considerable detail in previous pages.[1] The facts therein presented are assumed in the ensuing exposition. Some of the more important facts as they affect the matter in hand will be briefly restated in order to indicate the premises of the probability of the general and particular connection between the developments in Iowa with the immediate developments in Illinois.

I.

On the morning of April 20, 1859, the political horizon of Iowa displayed no serious sign of storm or portent of gathering cloud. Nevertheless, the currents had for weeks been running rapidly and converging, and concentration had taken place some days before. The Republican State Central Committee, composed of seven party leaders from as many different sections of the state, on April 18, at Des Moines, agreed upon a series of resolutions condemning in the most downright and

[1] See the writer's "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860." *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* for July. 1910, vol. x, pp. 156-163. Also *Ibid*, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," *ibid*. Jahrgang 1913, vol. xiii, pp. 202-308. Also, *ibid*, "The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859," *ibid*, Jahrgang 1914, vol. xiv, pp. 451-623.

In a paper read at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, in Evanston, May 17, 1911, entitled "Massachusetts, the Germans and the Chicago Convention of 1860," the writer dealt at length with the general effect throughout the country of the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts and its direct bearing upon the decision of the Chicago convention. The paper was reserved from the *Proceedings* by the writer and is not yet published.

outright language the Legislature of Massachusetts for the passage of a proposal to amend the constitution of that Commonwealth, which would exact a two years residence after naturalization of all foreign born who should thereafter desire to exercise the franchise and hold office. Although the resolutions were formally agreed upon at Des Moines on the 18th, there are a number of reasons for suspecting that the Chairman and some of the members had met at Davenport in the two weeks preceding and conferred upon the advisability of such an expression, being prompted so to do by the increasing discontent among the Germans of eastern Iowa and their evident belligerent disposition in respect of the act proposed in Massachusetts.

The resolutions of the State Central Committee were published at length on April 20th, in *The Weekly Iowa Citizen* at Des Moines, John Teesdale, editor and State Printer. Accompanying the resolutions was an extended Address, "To the Republicans of Massachusetts and of the Union," signed by the Chairman, Mr. John A. Kasson, a resident of Des Moines. He probably was the author of the resolutions as well as of the Address. The Address was a vigorous indictment of the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment and a stirring appeal to the patriotism and prudence of the Republicans of Massachusetts to defeat the pending proposal.

The resolutions promulgated by the State Central Committee in Iowa were given extensive circulation outside the state. They were printed at length on the editorial pages of *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago on April 29th and on the same date they appeared on the editorial page of *The Tribune* of New York; and on May 5th they were given similar distinction on the first page of *The National Era,* at Washington, D. C. All of the papers named had an extensive circulation in the states of the Northwest, particularly Greeley's *Weekly Tribune.*[2]

[2] The circulation of the *Weekly Tribune* in Iowa in the forepart of 1859 was 7,523, more than double the circulation of *The Hawkeye* of Burlington, the most influential and widely read Republican paper in eastern Iowa.

The Germans of Iowa, however, did not seem to be entirely satisfied. Their confidence in the integrity and reliability of the Republican party had been so rudely shocked by the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts controlled by Republicans and nominal liberals and "progressives," as philanthropists and reformers, then, as now-a-days, fondly called themselves, that they were highly suspicious and insisted that all of those charged with the leadership of the party should make the most explicit and unequivocal avowals of their attitude toward the "Two Year" Amendment.

Sometime in the latter part of March some of the leaders among the Germans began to suspect that the Republicans were very wary of expression anent the act proposed in Massachusetts. Probably during March Nicholas J. Rusch, a state senator from Scott county, addressed a long communication to Greeley's *Tribune*, which appeared April 11th, in which he pointed out this fact in language that left no doubt as to the alarm and discontent among the Germans in Iowa. Again, although the resolutions of the Republican state central committee and Mr. Kasson's address were very outspoken, many of the leading Republican papers gave the resolutions no commendation in their editorial columns and a number of the influential party editors sharply criticized Mr. Kasson and his colleagues of the committee for their action, declaring it *ultra vires* and without justification; among others condemning the Committee were, *The Dubuque Daily Times, The Oskaloosa Herald, The Montezuma Republican, The Spirit of the West* of Sigourney, and *The Weekly Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs. It was not strange that the suspicious Germans concluded that the Republicans were not overzealous in their opposition to the proposed act of the Republicans of Massachusetts.

Another fact loomed large in the minds of Germans and enhanced their suspicion and cynical contempt for formal declarations. The first National Republican convention at Philadelphia had concluded their platform with an appeal to "men of all parties," the final words of which were an explicit declaration and pledge of opposition to all legislation or public

policy adversely affecting the naturalized citizens. The plank reading:—"believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security." As the Republicans of Massachusetts had proposed and submitted to their constituents the "Two Year" Amendment with that unqualified pledge staring them full in the face, and with indignant Germans pressing its obligation upon their consideration, the disturbance and doubts among Germans were normal resultants. Hence the decision to resort to decisive and conclusive measures to discover the position of the Republican leaders, to force them to come out into the open and to stand by their guns. Both in method and in results their maneuvre was in truth, what our military experts would call a reconnoissance in force.

Sometime in April the leaders among the German Republicans of Dubuque, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington and Keokuk began to correspond and to confer concerning the situation and to concert plans for discovering the true feelings of the standard bearers of the Republican party severally and in such a way as would give no opportunity to fearful or shifty politicians for hedging or dodging or denial.

Whether the manoeuvre agreed upon was first urged at Dubuque, or at Davenport, or at Burlington, or elsewhere; who first suggested or urged concert of action; who took the lead in promoting it; what the various plans suggested were and what the precise plan ultimately agreed upon—all these important items probably are now matters for conjecture. The files of the *Staats Zeitung*, and of the *Volkstribun*, both of Dubuque, of the *Zeitung* of Muscatine and the *Freie Presse* of Burlington have been lost; the columns of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport give us no clue; and the American papers disclose nothing of the prior developments. In view of the intense feeling among the Germans and the noteworthy results of their concert of action it is passing strange that the editors of some of the German papers did not let the public know something of the preliminaries and the persons foremost in the prosecution of the manoeuvre. Sundry facts indicated in the initial

responses obtained by the Germans, however, enable us to learn the names of some of the leaders in the movement and somewhat of their plan of operations.

Consultations and correspondence among the German leaders concluded in a decision to formulate a letter containing a series of specific questions to be presented personally to each of the members of the Congressional Delegation of Iowa, namely to Senator James Harlan and Senator James W. Grimes, and to Colonel Samuel R. Curtis of the First or Southern District, and to Mr. William Vandever of the Second or Northern District. The interrogatories numbered three and were as follows:

> 1. Are you in favor of the Naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?
>
> 2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?
>
> 3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?

It is not quite clear whether the letter containing the foregoing interrogatories was a circular letter with the same subscribers to each and all presented to the Congressional Delegation or not. From some of the responses it would appear that it was substantially a circular letter; but the names of the initial subscribers seem to have varied more or less with the locality of the Congressman addressed. The number who joined in presenting the questions seem to have been a considerable group—in one instance, at least, exceeding fifty.[8]

[8] Senator Grimes addressed his reply to Messrs. Hillgaertner, Bittmann, Freund, Olshausen, Guelich and others. See *Der Demokrat,* 5 Mai. Senator Harlan addressed his reply to Mr. J. B. Webber and others, *The Hawkeye,* May 11. Col. Curtis' letter of May 13 was directed to Messrs. Kuestenmacher, Henry Richter, Silas Schmidt and "49 others," *The Gate City,* May 19; and Mr. Vandever's response was addressed to Messrs. Richter, Olshausen, Kuestenmacher "and others," *The Buchanan County Guardian,* June 2.

Among the signers were several prominent German leaders; men with reputations exceeding the bounds of their city or state:—Messrs. Theodore Guelich and Theodore Olshausen of Davenport, the first named being the original editor, and the second the then managing editor of *Der Tägliche Demokrat;* and Messrs. Henry Richter, John Bittmann and George Hillgaertner of Dubuque. Mr. Richter was the editor of the *Iowa Staats-Zeitung* and Dr. Hillgaertner was an associate editor with him.

Their circular letter, at least those addressed to Senators Grimes and Harlan appear to have been dated April 30. There is color for the notion that a committee of Germans at Burlington presented the letter addressed to Senator Grimes in person. He either had been forewarned, or he responded with remarkable haste, or assurance; for he replied instantly, on the same day. His reply was printed in *The Hawkeye* on May 3 and appeared at length in *Der Demokrat* at Davenport on May 5. Senator Harlan's response, an extended document of approximately 3500 words, was dated at Mt. Pleasant May 2. It did not appear in *The Hawkeye* until May 11 and in *Der Demokrat* at Davenport until May 13. These dates we shall have occasion later to note are significant.

II.

In the light of the immediate and widespread consequences of the Circular letter addressed to the Congressional Delegation of Iowa by the Germans of eastern Iowa, the authorship of the letter becomes a matter of more than vagrant curiosity. The loss, or disappearance of most of the papers whence authentic information might be obtained; and the utter silence of those editors whose papers are preserved make conclusions wholly a matter of generous inference and surmise.

Four names that appear among those to whom the Republican Congressmen of Iowa sent their replies, and one not named, may not unreasonably be accredited with conceiving and executing the plan composing the letter containing the categorical inquiries—Messrs. Bittmann, Hillgaertner, Guelich

and Olshausen, already mentioned and Mr. Hans Reimer Clausen of Davenport. All, save Mr. Bittmann, were refugees from the arbitrary and oppressive government of their Fatherland; all were liberals of the advanced or radical sort; all were pronounced opponents of Slavery and outspoken in their opposition to its extension and continuance; and all had stood forth in the forefront of many a fight for the furtherance of their ideas.

Mr. Clausen was not specifically named in any of the letters as one of those addressed; but it is inconceivable that a man as active and aggressive as he was in promoting the interests of liberal German-Americans was not active in the conferences that concluded in the German Circular letter. He was among the leaders of the bar of Davenport and was an aggressive and dominant type of leader in practical politics. The letter of April 30, 1859, was in no small measure a repetition and enlargement of a letter addressed by him publicly to Mr. Vandever on September 8, 1858, as a candidate for Congress.[4] His questions were the same, and the method of his maneuvre to elicit an unequivocal expression from Mr. Vandever was precisely followed in 1859; and Mr. Vandever was again one of those addressed in April, 1859. If he did not first suggest or initiate the plan thus to concert action, his letter of 1858 may have served as the prompting suggestion.

Mr. John Bittmann, founder and editor of the *Staats-Zeitung* of Dubuque, and Mr. Theodore Guelich, the founder of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, were each capable of conceiving the plan of the circular letter and of vigorously pressing matters to an issue, for both were liberals of the irreducible, not to say, irrepressible sort, able, ardent in temperament, and

[4] Mr. Clausen's questions presented to Mr. Vandever, September 8, 1858, as stated above, were the following:

1. Are you willing, when a member of Congress, vigorously and with all your power to oppose any attempt to change the laws of naturalization so as to extend the time of probation?

2. As any legislative measure which prevent a naturalized citizen, after his naturalization for a certain length of time from voting, are equivalent to the extension of the time of probation, are you willing to act for or against such measures?

energetic and courageous in all affairs arousing them to action. In the organization of the Republican party in Iowa in 1856 Mr. Bittmann and Mr. Guelich were two of three German editors who balked because the state convention at Iowa City refused to declare itself plumply against all men and measures affected with Know-Nothingism,[5] and they were not a whit less energetic and outspoken in 1859.

In respect of ability and character, discernment and courage, the same observations are to be made of Mr. Theodore Olshausen, then editor of *Der Demokrat.* He had been a man of distinction in Schleswig-Holstein as a lawyer and statesman. From 1851 to 1856 he had been a resident of St. Louis where he engaged in literary work. In 1856 he took charge of *Der Demokrat* and his distinction added greatly to the influence of that journal in the Mississippi valley. Mr. Olshausen's career later at St. Louis, as the editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* during the critical days of 1861 when the hearts of the burghers of that fair city were torn with Disunion disclosed that he had the discerning eye, the steady courage and persistent purpose, that would have compassed the manoeuvre in Iowa in 1859, had he discerned the urgency for so doing.

The name of Dr. George Hillgaertner of Dubuque produces strong presumptions in favor of the conclusion that he took the lead in formulating the circular letter of April 30. He fled from Bavaria under sentence of death for his part in the Revolution. He came to the United States about 1852. He accompanied Professor Gottfried Kinkel, as his Private Secretary, in his celebrated tour of our eastern and southern states in his attempt to raise a loan of a million dollars to promote a liberal government in Germany. In the forepart of 1854 he settled in Chicago and immediately became one of the editors of *Der Illinois Staats Zeitung* and one of the influential leaders of the Germans in that city. He was an out-and-out

[5] See *Dubuque Daily Republican,* March 3, 1856, in which the statement signed by Messrs. Bittmann and Guelich and L. Mader of the *Freie Presse* of Burlington, declaring that they will hold aloof from the new party until it is purged of the "impure elements" by which it was then "infested."

opponent of Slavery, of Know-Nothingism and of "Maine-Law-ism" as the drastic "temperance" legislation of those days was designated. In the notable Mass-meeting of the Germans in South Market Hall on the night of March 16, Dr. Hillgaertner was made chairman of the committee on resolutions and brought in and presented the ringing resolutions denouncing Senator Douglas for his course in respect of the part he had taken in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Later in that year he spoke out so vigorously against the prevalent propagandism against the foreign-born then raging and against pending proposals or proceedings to restrict or prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages that a storm broke about his head and mob-violence and judicial proceedings seemed to threaten his liberty, if not his life. His was a character that had no patience for arbitrary government in any form or place and he had an ardent temperament which made him reckless of policy or prudence. It was probably the reaction of his course that caused him in 1855 to sever his connection with the *Staats Zeitung of Chicago* and remove to Dubuque where he became associated with Mr. John Bittmann, as an associate editor in the conduct of the *Staats Zeitung* of that city. In his new home city proslavery sentiment was so preponderant that Democrats fondly called Dubuque "The Gibraltar of the Democracy of Iowa." In Iowa, as in Illinois, Dr. Hillgaertner immediately stepped to the fore in the stormy discussions of that day. When the opponents of Slavery first assembled in a mass-meeting in Dubuque to effect the first local organization of the Republican party in that county, Dr. Hillgaertner was made one of the two secretaries and was one of the two asked to address the meeting. He was sent as a delegate to the first Republican state convention at Iowa City on February 22. Dr. Hillgaertner was a licentiate in law of the University of Munich. His ability as a forceful writer was signified in October, 1859, by a call to join the editorial staff of *Der Westliche Post* of St. Louis and that of *Der Anzeiger des Westens* on which he remained until his death in October, 1865, aged 41.

A conclusion as to the first proposer of the Circular letter

of April 30 and as to its author must be clouded by uncertainty. The similarity of the questions presented to the Congressional Delegation of Iowa in 1859 to those submitted to Mr. Vandever in 1858 by Hans Reimer Clausen strongly suggests him as the man foremost in the matter.

Senator Grimes' reply gives us a definite clue. It was apparently delivered to him at Burlington in person. But the first person named among the addressees is Dr. Hillgaertner. This suggests that Senator Grimes formally responded to the committee of Germans who signed the letter and Dr. Hillgaertner's name, it would seem, headed the array of signatures. As Dr. Hillgaertner was a resident of Dubuque, and probably was not a familiar acquaintance of Senator Grimes, the conclusion would seem fairly to be that Senator Grimes first named the chairman or prime mover in the project. It is customary—although not invariable—for the chairman of a committee to formulate the sentiments of the body or persons interested. There is thus a strong presumption in favor of such a conclusion. The character and career of Dr. Hillgaertner confirms and strengthens this conclusion.[6]

[6] For additional information as to Hans Reimer Clausen see the writer's "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," in *The Annals of Iowa*, vol. viii, pp. 205-206; and also his "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. x, pp. 156-163.

See Gue's "Life and Death of Theodore Guelich," *Annals of Iowa*, vol. i, pp. 46-52.

The writer is indebted to Dr. August P. Richter, formerly editor of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport for data as to the careers of John Bittmann and Theodor Olshausen.

For the career of Dr. George Hillgaertner see *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, Jubilee edition, July 4, 1898: *Georg Hillgaertner—Eine biographische Skizze.* [By Dr. Emil Pretorius?] St. Louis, 1866: Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri, No. 5, April 1914, "Georg Hillgaertner, ein Held der Feder und der That in Deutschland und Amerika," pp. 138-144; and the writer's "The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. xii, pp. 156-163.

The writer is indebted to Dr. George Minges of Dubuque, Iowa, and to Mr. Wm. A. Kelso of *The Daily Post-Dispatch* of St. Louis for most of the data and references to sources of information as to the career of Dr. Hillgaertner.

Let us now follow developments across the river and discover if there are any causal relations between events in Iowa and those preceding Mr. Lincoln's reply to Dr. Canisius.

III.

The American press of Illinois became aroused to the serious political significance of the proposed "Two Year" Amendment to the constitution of Massachusetts as soon as the press of Iowa. The first noteworthy expression was a striking editorial in *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago, March 21. Its length, its earnestness and vigor demonstrate that the editor saw in the growing agitation of the Germans consequent upon the proposal in Massachusetts, serious and imminent danger threatening the success of the Republican party in both state and nation. In these distant days it is not easy to realize the nature, sweep and significance of the alarm that suddenly took possession of the foremost Republican editors and party leaders of the anti-slavery and Opposition forces in the forepart of 1859 anent the act submitted to the electors of Massachusetts; and in order that this fact may in some part be realized the entire editorial is here reproduced:

VOTE IT DOWN.

> The Legislature of Massachusetts has lately proposed an amendment to the constitution of that state restricting the right of voting, among adopted citizens, to such as have been two years naturalized. The amendment is to be submitted to the people at the next general election. We hope that it may be voted down; and that the Republican party of the Commonwealth will be preeminent in its opposition to the proposed change. It is due to the integrity of our organization, composed as it is of the masses of the educated foreigners of all nationalities that a measure in itself so unjust and unexpected—one against which they supposed that the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1856 had given them a sufficient guaranty—should meet with its quietus by Republican hands. Good faith and fair dealing with those who separated themselves from the bogus Democracy to assist the party of Freedom in the accomplishment of the

results which it proposes—who have for the sake of principle been willing to fraternize with Know Nothings, their most deadly enemies—and who have, in their action on national questions at issue between parties, displayed a degree of patriotism and fidelity which many an American might imitate with advantage,—good faith to these demands that there should be no hesitation, no dodging, no compromises in this thing. It must be killed, or Republicanism in all the Northwestern States and not a few of the eastern States is needlessly and imminently imperilled!

While we speak thus decidedly, let not our Massachusetts friends understand that the Republicans of Illinois and the adjoining states, where the value of the aid of the adopted citizens in the progress of the Republican principles is recognized and appreciated, ask for a continuance of the naturalization laws as they are. Our Germans, Scandinavians, English, Protestant Irish and French, to a man, will not only assent to, but gladly declare themselves in favor of an important change. They see as clearly as Americans can the frauds which, under the existing law, may be and are perpetrated, and they will, we are assured, co-operate with whomsoever will take the lead in the legislation that may be necessary for greater security of their inestimable rights. They will cordially agree that no man shall vote within two years of the date of his past papers, if those papers can be obtained by a three years residence; or, what is better still, they will consent that five years may intervene between the date of the naturalization papers, and the first exercise of the elective franchise, provided that naturalization may take place within the first year's residence in the country. But they demand, and justly enough, that the law shall be a law of Congress uniform in action and universal in its application; and it is a wonder that the members of the Massachusetts Legislature could not so far respect their principles as to memorialize Congress for an enactment which all Republicans, native and adopted, might support, rather than throw the element of discord into our political discussions which should be directed towards the best methods of releasing the country from the wicked rule of the Slave Democracy.

It is time, however, that this question misnamed Americanism should be met, and that the abuses of the elective franchise, by which the Democracy of the North

> usually secure their triumphs, should be prevented. We are not afraid of the agitation which will follow a re-opening of the whole matter. We know that the adopted citizens working with the Republican party for the principles of freedom are sincerely desirous of adopting any just measures for securing purity in our elections, preventing the illegal naturalizations of aliens, and guarding the perfect expression of the popular will as Americans themselves. The experience of the past six years has taught them that they have nothing in the way of intolerance and proscription to fear from the American people. The bugbear of Know-Nothingism has lost its terror, and as might be expected of a body of men who enjoy here the rational liberty they have been denied elsewhere, they grow more and more solicitous to preserve that liberty to themselves, and to hand it down to their children unimpaired. Massachusetts owes it to these men to put under foot the injustice which her legislators have proposed.

The editorial was widely quoted[7] and it was unquestionably one of the decisive expressions that operated powerfully in the furious discussion that immediately swept over the country. On March 25 the *Daily Illinois State Journal* at Springfield published a half column editorial denouncing the measure pending in the Old Bay State. Its drift and energy may be inferred from its title: "Massachusetts' Constitution—Shameful Attempt at Proscription."

On March 24 the Republican State Central Committee of Wisconsin agreed upon and published an Address "To the People of Wisconsin." Its occasion was the act submitted to the voters of Massachusetts. After citing a series of resolutions adopted by the state convention of their party in 1857 the Committee condemn in no uncertain terms the proposed Amendment in the Old Bay State and they appeal to their Republican confreres in Massachusetts to "efface the single stain upon that escutcheon which the Republicans of Massachusetts have so nobly borne." This pronouncement was published in *The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* in its issue of March 28.

[7] Thus *The Davenport Daily Gazette* on March 31 cited from it at length in an editorial; and Garrison's *Liberator* in Boston reprinted it entire in the issue of April 8.

The next day *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago again dealt with "Massachusetts and the Naturalization Laws," and observed: "Everywhere the Republicans are speaking out manfully and independently against the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature. . . . There is no divided opinion upon the subject in any of the free states of the Union, and it is our deliberate conviction that even in Massachusetts the Republicans will vote in solid phalanx against it." The editorial quotes at length from the statement of the Republican state Central Committee of Wisconsin and concludes with the sentiment and hope: "This is well done, and we hope to see the Republicans of every State in the Union uniting in solemn and emphatic protest against the Massachusetts proposition."

The pressure of public interest was constant for the next day, March 30, *The Press and Tribune* took notice of some "spirited resolutions" adopted by The Young Men's National Republican Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, "condemnatory of the attempt now being made in Massachusetts" and again observes: "The Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to themselves and to their brethren of other states to put an emphatic negative upon the proposed amendment at the polls—a duty we doubt not they will most gladly perform."

Precisely similar sentiments were expressed at Springfield on April 2, in an editorial of the *State Journal* in citing and commenting upon some resolutions adopted at a meeting of Germans of Toledo, Ohio, condemning the act of Massachusetts and appealing to the voters, and particularly to the Republicans of that state to defeat the Amendment. The *Journal* hopes that the Republicans of every state will unite in a "solemn and emphatic protest" against the proscriptive measure submitted in Massachusetts. On April 5 the *Journal* tells its readers that "The Massachusetts Constitution" receives an "emphatic rebuke from Wisconsin"; and on April 8 it again enlarges upon the pending proposal in Massachusetts dealing with sentiments expressed by the Boston *Traveler*.

The notable speech of Mr. Carl Schurz in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the evening of April 18 on "True Americanism" which was a protest against the principle and policy of the

"Two Year" discrimination and a plea for its defeat, and the remarkable reception accorded the brilliant young German advocate of Milwaukee by the elite of Boston elicited some additional comments from *The Press and Tribune*, April 22, that enhanced the antagonism to such proscriptive legislation.

The same journal on April 29 printed as an editorial article the resolutions of the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa adopted April 18, already referred to. A week later, May 5, under the caption "Massachusetts," the following editorial expression was given in respect of a recently published letter of Senator Henry Wilson to Congressman Gillette of Connecticut:[8]

> With rare courage, but with a degree of devotion to the principles that underlie the Republican movement that might have been expected, Hon. Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts, takes open and decided objections to the two year amendment of the Massachusetts State constitution. His letter on the subject, printed at length in all the Boston newspapers, is an able and exhaustive discussion of the whole subject, so able that we of the West where the foreign element is most powerful, and where its dangers and advantages are properly estimated, cannot see how a Republican can fail to be quieted by its facts and reasonings. Mr. Wilson seems to know, as we do, that that portion of the foreign vote which is not wedded by the Catholic Church to Pro-Slavery Democracy in indissoluble bonds, will gladly join in any just and proper movement by which the abuse of the elective franchise may be prevented. Republican foreigners desire nothing more than the purity of the ballot box, and dread nothing more than the frauds by which its value has been measurably destroyed. They want just and salutary reform; not proscription. * * *
>
> "We thank the Senator in the name of the Republicans of the West, for his timely defense of the principles of the party and the integrity of the organization; and we trust that the appeal which he has made to the good sense and honesty of his state will prove not to have been made in vain."

[8] The initial paragraph of Senator Wilson's letter is reprinted in the writer's article in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. xiii, p. 212-213.

The determination of the "Two Year" Amendment was to be made on May 9 and it is clear that Messrs. Ray and Medill had begun to suspect from sundry signs which they observed in the reports from Massachusetts that the defeat of the proposition was uncertain. For the next day there was published a long leader in which the major purpose was to show that the proposed Amendment and the perplexity of the Republicans were really due to the machinations and plots of the Pro-Slavery Democrats of the Puritan Commonwealth. There were three political parties in Massachusetts—the Republicans, the Americans and the Democrats, and of these the Democrats easily and obviously held "the balance of power." The American party for years had been striving to secure drastic measures restricting the electoral privilege and rights as to public office for naturalized citizens. The Republicans, it was contended, had steadily resisted their adoption. Finally the Democrats perceiving their opportunity had joined with the anti-foreign propagandists and pushed the "Two Year" Amendment through the General Court. The situation in the state at large was more or less the same. The Republicans were working against it: "But the Republicans alone cannot defeat it. Their vote is nearly equal to that of the 'Americans' proper. The Democrats hold the balance of power upon the question; and our advices from Massachusetts lead us to believe that a secret purpose exists on their part to vote for the amendment, partly with the hope of placing the odium of its adoption on the Republicans, and partly because they would really prefer to have the large masses of the anti-slavery foreign population disfranchised. We warn our fellow citizens of foreign birth in advance, of the trick of the slavery propagandists. They may rest assured that the Republicans not only of Massachusetts but everywhere are unanimous in their opposition to the proposed amendment, and that it can only gain a footing through the secret aid and votes of the Democrats. If the results on the 9th should be adverse to what Republicans of every state and of every nationality ardently desire, the Pro-Slavery Democracy of Massachusetts will be responsible for it. The balance of power is in their hands. Watch and see how they use it."

It needs hardly to be observed that *The Press and Tribune* was manifestly hedging against the storm of criticism that would break upon the Republican party in the event the Amendment should carry at the polls. The argument put forth is somewhat fanciful, not to say fallacious. Furthermore it was not correct to say that all the leading Republican papers and party leaders were actively opposed to the Amendment. Even such a stout anti-slavery champion as Gen. Wm. Schouler, then editor of the Boston *Traveler,* supported the Amendment. While Senator Wilson openly opposed its adoption, the majority of the party leaders either openly endorsed it or gave it tacit support. Governor Banks had commended the principle to the legislature and had signed it. Eight of the eleven Congressmen were listed as supporting it, among the number being Charles Francis Adams[9] and Anson Burlingame. As to the iniquity of the Democrats in conspiring to secure the adoption of the measure for petty partisan advantage, Gen. Schouler wrote Salmon P. Chase that the whole project was a scheme of the friends of Senator Seward to undermine Governor Banks among the Germans of the West and thus weaken his strength before the national convention.[10]

IV.

The advices of *The Press and Tribune* as to the prospects of the passage of the "Two Year" Amendment were well founded. The proposal carried at the election May 9. The vote, as is usual with such a popular referendum, was light—21,119 for, and 15,398 against the Amendment. The total vote cast was about one fourth that cast for Fremont and Buchanan in 1856. The measure was rejected in seven of the fourteen counties of the Commonwealth and was given a majority in the other seven. The seven counties wherein the Amendment carried were the most populous counties: namely, Bristol, Essex, Middleessex, Norfolk, Plymouth, Suffolk, and

[9] *New York Tribune,* May 17, 1859.

[10] Wm. Schouler to S. P. Chase (Mss.), Boston, May 3, 1859, in Chase Correspondence in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Worcester. With the exception of Northhampton, Springfield and Worcester, the Amendment carried in all of the leading cities and towns: e. g., in Boston, Charleston and Cambridge; in Fall River and Gloucester; in Lawrence and Lowell; in Medford, Milford and Newburyport; in Roxbury, Salem and Waltham. Even in Senator Wilson's hometown of Natick the Amendment was carried by a vote of 92 to 86.[11]

Instantly the Democrats realized that they had a new war club with which they could belabor the Republicans and play vigorously upon the sensibilities of the Germans and the foreign born, to the detriment and embarrassment of "the party of liberty and high ideals" that prided itself upon its opposition to slavery and all forms of race discrimination. Under the new Amendment of Massachusetts a Southern Slaveholder, or a runaway slave from the rice swamps of South Carolina or the cotton fields of Mississippi could acquire the complete franchise in respect of the ballot and office-holding by a single year's residence and such types of University bred men as—Charles Bernays, A. Douai, Julius Froebel, Fred. Hassaurek, Fred. Hecker, Carl Heinzen, George Hillgaertner, Francis A. Hoffman, Francis Lieber, Fred. Kapp, Gustav Koerner, Arnold Krekel, Fred Munsch, Theo. Olshausen, E. Pretorious, C. G. Ruemelin, Geo. Schneider, Franz Sigel, Rheinard Solger, G. Struve, J. B. Stallo, Henry Villard and August Willich—these, and scores of like cultured men, would have to live in that Commonwealth seven years before they could exercise the highest privilege of an American citizen. The contrast between the rights of an ignorant, stupid, and mayhap, vicious negro and those of the *literati* of Europe's most renowned seats of learning presented a spectacle in contrasts that would arouse sensitive Germans to the highest pitch of wrath. Such alert, far-seeing editors, as Messrs. Ray and Medill of *The Press and Tribune* early anticipated with what delight the Democrats would descant upon such an odious discrimination.

[11] *Address of His Excellency, Nathaniel P. Banks, to the Two Branches of the Legislature* of Massachusetts. Appendix, pp. ii-xv.

Prior to the first of May the Democratic papers had not given much attention to the proposed Amendment. It was not until they began to perceive how great was the indignation and so manifest the belligerent activities of the German editors and party leaders against the measure that they awakened to its serious strategic importance as a political fact. The first noteworthy expression in *The Chicago Times,* the chief organ of Senator Douglas, was on May 5 in an editorial upon "The Proscription of Foreigners." On May 7 its batteries were again turned upon the Republicans in an editorial with the caption, "A Silly Effort to Shirk Responsibility"; such attempts as that of the *Press and Tribune* to get from under the load of obliquy for the part taken by Republicans in the passage of the act and its submission to the voters eliciting its finest scorn. When the result of the election on May 9 became known *The Times* again laid about with great gusto, saddling upon the Republicans the sole responsibility for the Amendment, precisely as the *Press and Tribune* had prudently forewarned the public would be done by the ungenerous and unscrupulous Democrats.

The *Times* contemptuously asked the *Press and Tribune* to explain and make some sort of a defence for the iniquity wrought. The Republican organ while manifesting the usual contempt and hauteur that editors are wont to exhibit anent the pin-pricks and thrusts of contemporaries did not deem it prudent to ignore the challenge, although it felt constrained to characterize the article of the *Times* as "a column of twaddle;" and on May 14 it presented a half dozen reasons why the Democrats should be directly charged with the offense of conceiving, promoting and producing the odious measure. The reasons given are both interesting and instructive and are briefly summarized:

First, the whole number of votes in Massachusetts is about 150,000. Second, The Democrats in that state number about 50,000 all-told. Third, The total number of votes cast at the election on May 9 was about 40,000, or about one fourth the normal vote of the State. The number who voted *against* the Amendment was *only* about 17,000 (the official count reduced

the number to 15,398). Fourth, Had the Democrats turned out and cast their ballots against the amendment it would have been defeated by more than 25,000 votes. Fifth, The truth is that three-fourths of the Democrats *stayed* at home for the express purpose of letting it pass; and a large majority of those who did go to the polls *voted for it* in order to throw the odium of the measure upon the Republicans. Sixth, Fully three-fourths of all the votes thrown against it were cast by Republicans. No party in Massachusetts was anxious to have the amendment adopted, save the Democratic party which hoped to make a little party capital out of it. The indignation vented by the *Times* was the merest sham. Its editors, in common with all the Democratic politicians in Chicago, were glad that the amendment had been adopted, and if they had lived in Massachusetts would have voted for it just as did the editors of the Boston *Post*.

As Jove himself, as well as the lesser Gods, is wont now and then to nod, and on occasion slump, and anon run amuck, it is not strange that hard pressed editors, especially those who serve as high priests at the oracles, suffer likewise and plunged head formost into the pit of puerilities. The contention of the *Press and Tribune* was compounded of crass assumption and bland assertion, heedless of the prosaic probabilities that usually control common sense and interpretation. If there was a Republican state in the Union it was Massachusetts. The anti-slavery forces, or the Republicans, had general charge of the ship of state; and all the honors and all the pains and penalties of place and power attached to the party in office, responsible for the general administration of affairs. The plea of the *Press and Tribune* in mitigation, or rather in denial of the charge lodged against the Republicans was so obviously futile as to make one conclude that it was a reckless pretense which the editors themselves were aware of and which they would have given short shrift and repudiated with utter contempt had the shoe pinched the foot of the Democratic party. The editorial demonstrates how hard put the Republicans were to "save their face" as the parlance of the street would phrase it. The inanities of the editorial may suggest some-

what of their sense of the desperate straits of the party, should the alarm and belligerent activity of the Germans, then apparent in all of the northern free states west of New England, not be circumvented and confuted. From all points of the horizon they could observe sheet lightning and flashes of fire that meant a gathering storm and the wreckage of party crafts if the indignation and suspiciousness of the Germans could not be allayed and their confidence in the character and good faith of the Republican party renewed.

In full view of the facts just set forth we may now appreciate the remarkable demonstration among the Republican leaders of Illinois during the two weeks between May 6 and May 20.

V.

On Tuesday morning, May 6, *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago contained the following editorial:

LETTER FROM EX-GOV. GRIMES OF IOWA.

We publish in another column a letter from Gov. Grimes of Iowa on the proposed two year Amendment in Massachusetts called out by a note addressed to the Congressional Delegation from that state by a number of leading German citizens. It is an open, frank declaration of sentiment upon the subject involved, and corresponds fully with that entertained by the Republicans, not of Iowa alone but of every State in the Union.

This editorial note calling attention to Senator Grimes' [12] answer to the interrogatories of the Germans of eastern Iowa was given a conspicuous place on the first page in the first column near the top, so that all readers, casual and regular, would be sure to observe and make note of it. The letter which it commends to its readers and to the public is reproduced without abbreviation because of its important bearing upon subsequent developments in Illinois.

To Messrs. Hillgaertner, Bittmann, Freund, Olshausen, Guelich and others:

Gentlemen:

I have just had placed in my hands a copy of your letter to the Congressional Delegation from Iowa, in which you propound to them the following inquiries, viz.:

[12] Mr. Grimes was then the junior Senator of Iowa at Washington, D. C.

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?"

To each of these interrogations, I respond unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

In regard to the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature I have this to say: that while I admit that the regulation sought to be adopted is purely of a local character, with which we of Iowa have nothing whatever *directly* to do, and while I would be one of the last men in the world to interfere in the local affairs of a sovereign state, or with the action of any party in that state upon local matters, yet I claim the right to approve or condemn as my judgment may dictate. I believe the action of the Massachusetts Legislature to be based upon a false and dangerous principle, and fraught with evil to the whole country, and not to Massachusetts alone. Hence I condemn it and deplore it, without equivocation or reserve. Knowing how much the proposed constitutional provision will offend their brethren elsewhere, the Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to their party that this amendment shall be overwhelmingly voted down.

Yours truly,

JAMES W. GRIMES.[13]

Burlington, Iowa, April 30, 1859.

The response of Senator Grimes to his German constituents is characterized by a conciseness, explicitness and lucidity that are delightful. There are no *ifs*, or *ands*, or *buts* that leave one in a fog of doubts as to meanings, or fears as to mental reservations. Again, he couples downright and outright assertion with caution and clearcut limitation of the sweep of his declaration. He completely recognizes what may appropriately be designated as "northern states' rights" that in the decade of the Fugitive Slave law and the Dred Scott decision became a major tenet in the work-a-day creed of northern antislavery champions that energized, directed and controlled much of the discussion and practical politics and legal controversy carried on in the north by Abolitionists and Republicans, especially after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. At the same time he declares in unequivocal language his unqual-

[13] Reprinted in *Weekly State Journal*, May 12.

ified opposition to any disturbance of the *status quo* as regards naturalization and the franchise, and to any sort of discrimination between native and naturalized citizens. Finally, he suggests that while each state should be permitted to go her way and do more or less as she or her citizens may please to do, we have a grand common interest that is nation-wide and manifests itself in our common Federal government. The conduct of one state may affect adversely the feelings, if not the immediate rights, of citizens in all the states in our great Commonwealth. Consequently, if a local law or a policy gives grave offense in other sections and works a revulsion of public sentiment dangerous to the Party preserving or seeking to secure the major common interest, then the rule of comity should control, the major interest should predominate over the minor or local interest. Senator Grimes does not specifically name the approaching presidential contest as the major consideration; but his language and the drift of his thought obviously implies that he had it in contemplation.

The interrogatories quoted in Senator Grimes' letter, the character of the sentiments expressed in his response, and the method of his exposition should be kept constantly in the foreground in considering the developments in Illinois that followed after May 9; for they seem to give us the chief clue to the course of events and to have been a guide or suggestion that controlled the nature and form of expression.

Characterizing Senator Grimes' letter *The Press and Tribune* declared that his sentiments corresponded with those entertained by Republicans of "every state in the Union." The assertion was somewhat stronger than the facts justified; but it correctly stated the situation so far as the foremost antislavery editors and spokesmen represented the Republican party. Gideon Baily of *The National Era;* Samuel Bowles of *The Springfield,* (Mass.) *Republican;* Wm. Cullen Bryant of *The N. Y. Evening Post;* Wm. Lloyd Garrison of *The Liberator,* and Horace Greeley of the *N. Y. Tribune,* all these, the cautious and conservative no less than the irrepressible fanatic and radical, stood forth in opposition to the principle and pol-

icy of the "Two Year" Amendment and added their pleas to the indignant protests of the Germans.

To an anxious inquiry of Mr. Carl Heinzen, editor of *Der Pionier,* Lloyd Garrison at Boston branded the proposed Amendment in *The Liberator,* April 8, 1859 as "an act of political injustice * * * and we have scarcely a doubt that the proposed amendment * * * will be rejected by a decided majority."

Greeley's *Tribune* on April 25 addressed an earnest, not to say solemn "Word to the Bay State." Therein the people of Illinois read: "But we pray the Republicans of Massachusetts to vote down the proposed provision. It has been extensively paraded as a bugbear before the eyes of Republicans of foreign, especially those of German birth, and its adoption now would work enormous mischief, especially throughout the Free West. It might defeat the election of a Republican President in 1860. Just vote it down, let reason resume her sway among our Adopted citizens."

On April 28, *The National Era* printed at length an address of the German Citizens of Toledo, Ohio, protesting the act of Massachusetts and thus commended its sentiments: "We do not wonder at the feeling manifested by our German fellow citizens, but let them remember that the Republican party stands committed, not for, but against any such discrimination."

We have already noted that *The Press and Tribune* had called the attention of its readers to the official pronouncements of Republican leaders and bodies in various states protesting against the proposed Amendment in Massachusetts, to the formal protest of the Republican State Central Committee of Wisconsin in March, and to a like action by the same body in Iowa in April. The readers of Greeley's *Tribune* for May 3 read a long and earnest Address of the Republican State Central Committee of New York: among the signers being Horace Greeley, R. M. Blatchford, later one of President Lincoln's appointees to the Federal Supreme court at Washington, and Frederick Kapp. On May 11, *The Press and Tribune* informed its constituents that another prominent Republican leader had

spoken out against the act of Massachusetts. As he was a conspicuous figure in the national arena and regarded as among the few upon whom the Republican nomination for the Presidency might fall in 1860, his expression was of more than common interest. A portion of its editorial is given:

GOV. CHASE ON NATURALIZATION.

> Governor Chase of Ohio in forwarding to the State Central Committee a communication addressed to him by German Republicans of Sandusky and vicinity with reference to the proposed naturalization law in Massachusetts, takes occasion to express his own views. He feels "very confident that the Committee fully concur in the almost, if not entirely, unanimous (Republican) opinion in this state, that no discrimination should be made by amendment of a state constitution or otherwise between citizens of foreign and native birth.
>
> "Such has always been my opinion. I was therefore opposed, as is well known, to the proposition urged upon the consideration of our legislature, some two or three years ago, for the incorporation by amendment into our state constitution of a provision similar to that proposed in Massachusetts, requiring one year's residence only after naturalization, instead of two."

Writing apparently before the result of the election in Massachusetts was known, Dr. Bailey noting with concern "the sharp contest" within the Republican ranks of Massachusetts over the wisdom of submitting and considering the "Two Year" Amendment, observed:

"The Republicans of Iowa and other Western states have sent to Massachusetts formal protests, in the name of common cause of Republicans, against the ratification (of the Amendment). Apart from the local injustice it will inflict upon the adopted citizens of Massachusetts its effect upon the character of the party, throughout the Union, as the conservator of universal Freedom, will be injurious."

VI.

The facts just set out disclose clearly that the leaders of the anti-slavery forces in all of the Northern States west of New England, save New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and possibly Indiana, looked upon the "Two Year" Amendment as a serious menace to the Republican cause. They also make man-

ifest that the entire conservative element of the party—if Dr. Bailey and Horace Greeley are fair samples—as well as the radical element earnestly desired the defeat of the measure because it was felt that approval of the measure would place the party's chances in jeopardy in the approaching national election. As most of the influential editors and responsible leaders of the Republican party assumed—at least proclaimed their assurance and confidence—that the Amendment would be decisively defeated by the Republican electors of Massachusetts, it was decidedly disconcerting, not to say distressing, to learn from the returns on May 9 that the "odious Amendment" had carried by a considerable majority, carrying too in the most populous counties and in the chief cities where wealth and education may be presumed to be at their maximum.

The Press and Tribune might charge that the Democrats were the real marplots in compassing the adoption of the "Two Year" restriction but its editors and all weatherwise political leaders knew that the Germans and French and Scandinavians, Bohemians, Hungarians and Swiss, adversely affected by such legislation would not swallow such an explanation—the Republican party was in full control in Massachusetts and would have to assume and carry all the obloquy and condemnation resultant from the passage of the act and the favorable action thereon at the polls. Sundry ugly facts could not be ignored or tossed aside. The Philadelphia platform of 1856 seemed to be grossly disregarded. Public confidence among the Germans in the reliability of the party as to its pledges was rudely shaken by the conduct of the Republicans of Massachusetts. Alarm and suspicion, discontent and dissension, revolt and secession were not remote possibilities, but were imminent probabilities.

To dissipate this alarm became a matter of the greatest urgency. It was necessary immediately to convince the Germans that the Republicans in the West were not of the same ilk with their brethren of the Old Bay State; that they did not contemplate and would not give countenance to, or tolerate any like proposal in local legislation. Convincing and conclusive proof that the Republican leaders of Illinois were seized with anxiety, that suggested panic, was given the public in an aston-

ishing demonstration. In the Week and a half following May 9 every responsible Republican leader in Illinois came out in the open and in the most explicit unequivocal fashion declared himself.

The significance of the expressions here referred to are so important in determining subsequent developments in the career of Abraham Lincoln and played such a serious part in controlling the course and drift of things generally and they have been so utterly ignored—or rather they have been so utterly overlooked by all historians, that sundry literary canons are violated and all of the communications are given *in extenso*. In this way only can the reader of the present day appreciate the contemporary importance of the matter in issue and the enormous strategic significance attached to formal declarations by the responsible Republican leaders. The communications are presented in chronological order, without comment. Analysis, comparison and interpretation will follow.

VII.

On the 16th of May, *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago reprinted from *Die Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, the following letter addressed to the editor thereof, Mr. George Schneider:

Galena, Illinois, May 11, 1859.

My Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of yesterday propounding to me the following questions:

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation [time]?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native-born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, [for] attempting to exclude the adopted citizens of two years from the ballot-box, as unwise, unjust and uncalled for?"

In answer to the first question I state that I am in favor of maintaining the present naturalization laws intact, and am utterly opposed to extending the time of probation.

In regard to the second proposition: I most certainly regard it as one of the highest duties of the Republican party to resist

all discriminations between native-born and adopted citizens as to the right of suffrage.

Referring to the third question: I desire to say, I can find no language to express my abhorrence of the action of those Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature who passed the law proposing the Amendment to the Constitution of that State, excluding the adopted citizens from the right of suffrage for two years, and also the Republicans *out* of the Legislature who have just voted for the adoption of the Amendment. This action is the outgrowth of that "intolerant Know-Nothingism" which culminated in what is known as the "Heiss" of 1855 and is not only "unwise, unjust and uncalled for" but is a lasting disgrace and reproach to the State. Denouncing Know-Nothingism in the heyday of its power and strength, I should be unjust to myself if I did not now denounce its last and meanest act in securing the adoption of the illiberal, unnecessary and cowardly amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts. The Republicans of Massachusetts—the Republicans in that State, who have voted for the amendment, have placed themselves beyond the pale of sympathy with the Republicans of the other states, who universally condemn their action and who will not hold themselves responsible for it in any way, shape, or nature. I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) E. B. WASHBURNE.

Three days later the same journal reprinted from the *Staats-Zeitung* a letter from Congressman J. F. Farnsworth:

St. Charles, May 13, 1859.

Geo. Schneider, Esq.,
Editor "Ill. Staats-Zeitung."

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of the 10th, in which you allude to the Amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts, recently adopted in that State, by which naturalized citizens are debarred the right of voting until two years after the period of their naturalization.

Although this action of Massachusetts may be regarded as local, which cannot affect the citizens of other states, and with which we are not *directly* concerned, yet I fully agree with you in the expression that it is an "odious Amendment"—odious because it is insulting and unjust to that class of citizens who are affected by it. It discriminates between the native and the adopted citizen in favor of the former. *That is wrong;* and as a Republican, knowing something, I trust, of the principles of that party, and of the sentiments of its leading members, I believe I but echo the voice of the great mass of the Republican party when I protest against any attempt, come from what quarter it may, to fasten upon us or to make the Republican party in any manner responsible for a principle like that involved in the Massachusetts Amendment.

In my opinion, *nine tenths* of the Republican delegation in Congress, at least, are opposed to any change of the present

naturalization laws. They are satisfied with those laws as they *now are.*

These are at all events my sentiments, briefly expressed, and you are at perfect liberty to publish them; indeed, I am glad of the opportunity your note affords me of uttering my opinions through the channel of your valuable paper.

Very truly yours,

J. F. FARNSWORTH.

On Saturday evening, May 14, the Republicans of Springfield appear to have met in a general mass meeting in the hall of the Young Men's Republican Association. The nature and earnestness and design of their proceedings are exhibited in a most instructive manner in a special despatch that appeared at length in *The Press and Tribune,* May 18. The despatch with headlines follows:

THE MASSACHUSETTS AMENDMENT.

Resolutions of the Young Men's Republican Association at Springfield.

"Correspondence of the Press and Tribune."

Springfield, Ill., May 15, 1859.

I forward the accompanying copy of the resolutions adopted at a special meeting, held on the night of 14th inst., at the rooms of the Young Men's Republican Association, in accordance with the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of the resolutions adopted at this meeting to all the leading Republican papers throughout this State, with a request that they be published.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN C. BARKER,
Sec'y Y. M. R. A.

At a meeting held at the rooms of the Young Men's Republican Association, on Saturday evening, May 14th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, has by recent vote, sanctioned a law depriving the foreign born American citizens of the elective franchise for two years after naturalization; and

WHEREAS, Silence thereto by political bodies elsewhere may be constructed as an approval of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the (so called) Democracy, north and south, to lay to the charge of the Republican Party all their own petty meannesses; and

WHEREAS, The great Republican party in their platforms, and elsewhere, have repudiated every principle that would in

any degree recognize any distinction between their fellow citizens of foreign birth and others; and

WHEREAS, We hold that every true Republican must rejoice at the manner in which the foreign vote has lately rebuked the demagoging Democracy, and shown, unequivocally, their warm love of Liberty and Equal Laws; and

WHEREAS, They are one with us in sustaining the great fundamental doctrine, enunciated by Jefferson, fought for by Washington, and defended and maintained by all the great and good of every country, clime and age, "That all men are created equal," therefore,

1st. RESOLVED, That we, Republicans of Illinois, regard with feelings of scorn, detestation and contempt any act calculated in any degree to overthrow the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, be it from whom or where it may.

2nd. RESOLVED, By the Republicans of the city of Springfield, Illinois, that, disclaiming all right or inclination to interfere with the action of a sister State, we protest decidedly and solemnly against any provision by which a duly naturalized foreigner must be in the United States a period beyond five years, before he can lawfully vote; and assert that no discrimination should be made, by amendment of a State Constitution, or otherwise, between citizens of foreign and citizens of native birth.

WHEREAS, Our naturalized fellow citizens in the magnanimous enthusiasm with which they united in our State, at the recent elections, with their American brethren, have proven themselves on the sacred side of Freedom and Reform, therefore

RESOLVED, That we feel ourselves bound by every obligation of duty and honor to oppose earnestly and persistently every attempt to impair or abridge any privileges now enjoyed by them or their fellow immigrants.

4th. And WHEREAS, In the firm and manly position taken by the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, on the question of the naturalization laws, he has evinced the true principles and spirit of the doctrines of the Republican Party; as also have Messrs. Schurz of Wisconsin, Chase of Ohio, and Grimes of Iowa; therefore

RESOLVED, That we most heartily concur in and endorse the course pursued by these honorable gentlemen, and herewith tender our most sincere thanks for the able manner in which they have vindicated the integrity of the Republican Party.

JAMES OUSLEY,
President pro tem.

JNO. C. BARKER,
Secretary.

Springfield, May 14th, 1859.

The meeting at which the foregoing resolutions were adopted was not a dull, "cut and dried affair." There were speeches and apparently a generous outpouring of intense feeling. Among the speakers was no less a notable than Mr. William H. Herndon, the law partner of Abraham Lincoln and

later his biographer. His speech was evidently esteemed of more than ordinary importance, either by the speaker or by the audience, for it appeared at length in the columns of *The Daily State Journal* on May 17 in its account of the proceedings of the meeting of Saturday night, as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENSHIP.

Speech of WM. H. HERNDON.

Mr. Herndon, after rapidly surveying the state of Europe, and the European crisis, and the struggles of the people of the continent for liberty and nationality, complimented the American people on their prosperity, peace and power, and spoke substantially as follows:

Finally, Mr. President, we are gathered here in this hall tonight—we Republicans, native and foreign-born—for the special purpose of giving vent to our sentiments and expression to our ideas on the late act of Massachusetts in relation to her naturalized citizens. We Republicans, as citizens of this city and the State of Illinois, do not pretend that we have any right to dictate to a sister State of this Union what institutions she shall or shall not have. But as American citizens—as Republicans—we have some dear rights; and when any law of any State projectingly acts upon us, reaches outside of that State, and by its spring and sweep, injuriously and destructively affects us, then we have an undoubted right to give speedy and quick utterance to our sentiments, and expression to our ideas in relation thereto. This far we go, but no farther. The late act of Massachusetts touches the whole Republican party from Maine to Georgia, and from New York to California, not only now, but far distant in the future, unless fully understood.

It is now well understood in Massachusetts that the Democracy of that State is partially, if not wholly, responsible for the passage of the Constitutional provision, odious as it is. I now hold a letter in my hand from Boston, which says in substance "that the Democracy really wanted the law passed; some voting for it, some scattering tickets in its favor on the day of the election, and all wanting it to pass, and voting stoutly for it. They could have killed if it they had wished to do so."

Were we not now quickly to speak out our ideas on this law of Massachusetts, it might be inferred, it would be meanly implied by the corrupt Democracy for political purposes, that the Republicans of Illinois approved of the act, together with its cruel and destructive policy, and rank injustice to our foreign-born citizens. The Republican principle on this question is—once an American citizen always an American citizen, with all the burthens, rights and privileges attaching thereto, and which is never to be taken away, except by forfeiture through the man's own acts. This law of Massachusetts denies or repudiates this, and we, as Republicans, do now and here say that we most heartily and unanimously disapprove this law, because it is contrary to fundamental principles, and for the following reasons:

First, because it is impolitic, and second, because it is wrong and unjust to all that class of American citizens who happen to be born on European soil, and others not Americans. These citizens, intelligent, good and patriotic men, have fled from the towering oppressive thrones—iron chains and glittering bayonets of the despots of the Old World, and have landed among us to make this their adopted free homes, supposing that there would and should be equality—at least, as broad as that laid down in the Dred Scott case—among all American citizens. We see, however, that they are to be somewhat mistaken, if the Legislature of Massachusetts vitalizes this latent constitutional power by an operative act.

This law is wrong and unjust. Once an American citizen always so. The Republicans all over this State have taken broad, deep and radical grounds against this law; against its cruel impolicy and its stinging injustice; and so now and here tonight, in this Republican hall, we solemnly protest against it, in the name of Republicanism, and send out our protest to the world.

I have as a Republican long since and often in speeches and in print—in private circles and on the stump, all over this State, expressed my views on this subject, and have said that I know of no distinction among men, except those of the heart and head. I now repeat that, though I am native born, my country is the World, and my love for man is as broad as the race, and as deep as its humanity. As a matter of course I include native and foreign people, Protestant and Catholic, "Jew and Gentile." I go the full length of justice to all men—equality among all American citizens, and freedom to the race of man. That party—that class—that man or party who adopts different ideas and expresses them by word or act—gives vent by tongue or deed to them—is cruelly or wickedly despotocratic, though it may call its principles Democratic. In the center of its heart it is a despotism, soon to bloom into one-man, iron-willed Absolutism. Names are nothing, but principles are as deep as the world. The roots of things—the purposes and intents—are the tests. Look at this—justice and liberty to all men, and then at this—justice and liberty to a special few, and they to judge of the times and necessities. In the one is Heaven's justice broad and deep, and in the other despotism.

Republicans, score deep on your banner mortised and buttressed on the Philadelphia platform, and let there be no cowardly dodging for timid policy's sake from this, this ever-living vital principle, liberty and equality to all American citizens, native or foreign born, and freedom and justice to the race of men around the globe. With these principles nothing can impede your young, living, irresistible power, or prove victorious over you, for you have the sweep and power of God's great rushing currents to bear you on to victory o'er the world.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began, and by this principle I am willing to live or die—freedom and justice to all men—equality and liberty to all American citizens, native or foreign born, Protestant or Catholic; and may the chains of universal or partial despotism on mind or body—on individual or the race, be shivered and broken and snapt; and ring out loud and

long against the Bastile prison doors, crossed barred and iron grated—"Keeper, open this door and let us go out joyous, bounding and happy, for we too now are free by God's great law."

Tuesday, May 17, was a busy day for the Republican leaders of Illinois, for on that date three of the prominent spokesmen of the party composed extended and important replies to letters addressed to them by committees of Germans asking them for specific declarations as to their attitude on the subjects referred to. One was written by Mr. N. B. Judd, as a member of the Republican State Central Committee; another was written by Abraham Lincoln, and the third by Mr. Lyman Trumbull, U. S. Senator. They are presented in the order named:

Chicago, May 17, 1859.

To Messrs. Theobald Pfeiffer, E. Violand and Louis Deider:

Gentlemen:—Your communication on behalf of the German Club of Peoria reached Chicago during my absence in a neighboring State.

The State Central Committee is composed of eleven members, viz.: two from the State at large and one from each Congressional District. The distance at which they reside from one another renders it impracticable to assemble the Committee to act upon the subject matter of your communication. I had supposed that the position of the Republican Party of Illinois, in upholding equality among citizens, whether native or adopted, and hence its opposition to any burdens or restrictions upon the right of suffrage that should distinguish between classes of citizens, was so well defined that it did not require a repetition. The first State assemblage in Illinois, called for the purpose of organizing a resistance to the slave oligarchy, and at which the Republican Party was organized, met at Bloomington on the 29th day of May, 1856.

That Convention did not limit its action to measures only looking to the resistance of slave encroachments upon the rights of freemen, but it met the other question of Proscription, and adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience, as well as political freedom; and that we will proscribe no one, by legislation or otherwise, on account of religious opinion, or in consequence of place of birth."

The Convention did not confine itself to words, but by its acts proved its good faith by nominating for some of its highest places your countrymen, Hon. Fred. Hecker and Hon. Francis A. Hoffman.

The Convention that nominated John C. Fremont assembled at Philadelphia in June of that year, and it confirmed the posi-

tion taken by Illinois by adopting as a part of its National Platform the following resolution:

"Believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security."

The incorporation of that resolution into the Philadelphia Platform was effected principally by the united efforts of the delegates from the State of Illinois, and by no one was it urged more earnestly than by our German friends in the delegation, George Schneider of the *Staats-Zeitung*, Greiun (Grimm?) of Belleville and H. Kreismann of this city. In the contest that followed, the Illinois Republicans maintained the position thus taken. The party has had another State Convention, viz: in 1858, and your countryman, Gov. Koerner, was its presiding officer. Such have been the principles and practices of the Republicans in Illinois and the history of the party on this question of Proscription.

The local history of the party will show that in all cases where it had the power, offices, honors and rewards have been meted out regardless of nationality or birthplace. The Republican press condemned, in no measured terms, this unjust discrimination proposed by Massachusetts as wrong and anti-Republican in principle, and oppressive to that noble band of adopted citizens, who, believing in freedom, free labor, free homes and free lands, had, side by side with the native-born, fought the political battles of freedom.

As a member of the State Central Committee, it never occurred to me that any one could doubt the hostility of the party in this State to any change in the laws by which the equality among citizens should be disturbed.

I believe that all the members of the committee agree with me in the opinion that all discrimination between native and adopted citizens is unjust in itself and a violation of the equal rights which are the basis of our free institutions. The action of a small fraction of the people of Massachusetts is, in my opinion, an act of tyranny and oppression that should be rebuked by the Republicans throughout the Union.

Respectfully yours,

N. B. Judd,

Chairman Rep. State Cen. Com.

Wednesday morning, May 18, the *Daily State Journal* of Springfield, contained the following editorial which is reproduced *in extenso:*

MR. LINCOLN ON THE MASSACHUSETTS AMENDMENT.

We are indebted to Dr. Canisius for a copy of a letter written by Mr. Lincoln, in reply to a note requesting his views upon the late action of the State of Massachusetts in restricting the right of suffrage. We subjoin the letter together with the note which accompanied it:

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Editors Journal:—

I have received today a letter from Hon. Abraham Lincoln in regard to the "Massachusetts Amendment" and the proposed "fusion" of the Republican party with other opposition elements in 1860. This letter of one of the gallant champions of our State is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican party, and also with the views of the entire German Republican press. It therefore would afford me pleasure if you would give it publicity through your widely circulated journal.

I am, yours, etc.,

THEODORE CANISIUS.

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Dr. Theodore Canisius:

Dear Sir:—Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may without impropriety speak out. I say, then, that as I understood the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place, where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the *elevation* of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to *degrade* them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of *white men*, even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself.

As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on Republican grounds, and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms would be as foolish as unprincipled.

It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of *men* is a different one. There are good patriotic men and able statesmen in the South, whom I would cheerfully support if they would now place themselves on Republican ground; but I am against letting down the Republican standard a hair's breadth.

I have written this hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

We are glad Mr. Lincoln has written this letter. It is plain, straightforward and directly to the point. It contains not one word too much, neither does it omit anything of importance.

Mr. Lincoln occupies the same ground as does the entire Republican party of the nation, and his letter will meet with their cordial concurrence and sympathy.

The next day, Thursday, the *State Journal* contained the following response of Senator Lyman Trumbull to a letter addressed to him by Dr. Canisius, Charles Hermann and others, the same committee probably that addressed Mr. Lincoln; the editorial comment in introduction closed with the observation: "It has the ring of true metal."

Alton, Ill., May 17, 1859.

Messrs. Theodore Canisius, Charles Hermann and Others:

Gentlemen:—Unlike some of our political opponents who refuse to express their opinions on the propriety of introducing slavery into Kansas, because they do not live in the Territory, saying that if the people of Kansas [want it] it is their right to have it, and if they do not want it, they may, if the courts will let them, exclude it, and it is nobody's business out of the Territory, which they do, I am ready on all proper occasions to express my condemnation of illiberal and anti-Republican movements, no matter where they originate.

Loving freedom and hating despotism, I can never be indifferent as to which shall prevail in any country, and while I recognize the authority of each State in the Union to determine for itself the qualifications of its voters, I deny the position assumed by our opponents, that the citizens of every other State are precluded from the expression of any opinion as to the propriety of its action. I have, therefore, no hesitation in answering your inquiries in regard to the recent amendment of the Massachusetts constitution, excluding persons hereafter naturalized, for two years thereafter, from the right of suffrage. Such a provision creates an unjust discrimination between citizens, violates the great principle of equal rights, and is in the very teeth of the Republican creed. Massachusetts in adopting it has placed herself in opposition to every other Republican State, and to the Republican party in the country, which stands pledged in its National platform *to oppose all legislation impairing equality of rights among citizens.* While, therefore, I condemn the action of Massachusetts, I think the course of the Democrats, in striving to make political capital out of it, deserving of still greater condemnation. In the first place they stultify themselves before the country and repudiate the so-called *great principles* of leaving the people of each state *perfectly free* to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, by saying anything about the internal affairs of Massachusetts. Their mouths, if governed by principle, should be forever shut, no matter what Massachusetts has done. Secondly, they themselves in their attempts to deprive foreign residents in Minnesota of any participation in the formation of their State government, and rights of suffrage, long enjoyed, were guilty of greater outrage than the people of Massachusetts, for the latter (as I understand) have not attempted to interfere

with the rights of suffrage enjoyed by foreigners now residents of the State, but only to prescribe a different rule for those who shall come hereafter; while the Democratic party, not of an isolated State, but of the Nation, undertook in Congress to take away from persons of foreign birth, then residing in Minnesota, the right of suffrage which under previous acts of Congress and the Territorial Legislature they had long enjoyed. In this attempt they were defeated by the Republicans. Let Democrats answer for this attempt of the majority of their party in the nation to rob foreign residents in Minnesota of previously vested rights, before they attempt to arraign Republicans of the Nation for the action of a few in Massachusetts, contrary to the declared creed of the party.

Very respectfully,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

On May 21, *The Press and Tribune* contained the following resolutions adopted at Peoria:

"Resolutions of the Republicans of Peoria."—At a meeting of the Republicans of Peoria, of which Dr. J. D. Arnold was the President and Wm. L. Avery Secretary, L. R. Webb from the Committee on Resolutions reported the following, which was unanimously adopted:

The Republicans of the city of Peoria, in meeting assembled, for the purpose of considering the recent act of the people of Massachusetts imposing additional restrictions upon the rights of suffrage of foreign-born citizens of that State, do

RESOLVE, That, as one of the charges preferred by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence against the King of Great Britain was that he was endeavoring to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose of obstructing the law for the naturalization of foreigners and refusing to encourage their emigration hither, so we, viewing the recent unjust, oppressive and intolerant action of the people of Massachusetts, believe it to be incumbent on us to denounce the same in unmeasured terms, as directly promoting the very evils our forefathers complained of, and as contrary to the spirit of our free institutions.

RESOLVED, That believing, as we do, that the people of Illinois are greatly indebted to the foreign-born citizens for the absence of human slavery in our midst, and its numerous attendant evils, and also believing that the spirit of our institutions and the constitution of our country both guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we deem it to be the policy and the duty of the Republican party to invite and encourage the affiliation and cooperation of all men, foreign as well as native, to the end that the cause of freedom may be promoted and the material growth and prosperity of our country may be augmented.

The two letters which follow were taken from the same journal from which the resolution just given is reprinted. The first one appeared in the issue of the 24th and the second in

the issue of the 26th. The reasons for the delay in their publication in the American press was probably due to the circuitous transmission they underwent. Translation for the pages of the *Staats-Zeitung,* to whose editor they were both addressed, and then their subsequent publication in *The Press and Tribune.*

Princeton, May 18, 1859.

Editor of Illinois Staats-Zeitung:

Dear Sir:—I have received yours of the 16th inst., requesting my views on the following questions:

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation [time]?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native-born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, [for] attempting to exclude the adopted citizens of two years from the ballot-box, as unwise, unjust and uncalled for?"

In reply I would say, that I am in favor of the naturalization laws as they are, and should oppose any law calculated to prejudice the rights of the adopted citizen. This is in substance a reply to your second question. It is, without question in my mind, the mission and duty of the Republican party to oppose all and every discrimination between the adopted and native citizen. In this respect there should be one rule for the stranger and the home born.

In answer to the third inquiry I do not see what moral right the Massachusetts Legislature or the majority of her people have to suspend [or] temporarily to abrogate, for it amounts to this, the right of suffrage of a certain class of her citizens. The amendment, therefore, to which you allude, is, in my opinion, "unwise, unjust and uncalled for." I deprecate this the more as it tends to distract and alienate those from co-operation with the Republicans who are really with us in regard to the great objects we would achieve. My notions of human rights are such as to incline me to the largest liberality in bestowing the right of suffrage. Whoever is arrayed on the side of Freedom in its conflict with Slavery, of whatever clime and of whatever creed, the same *politically* is "my mother and sister and brother."

Yours truly,

OWEN LOVEJOY.

Chicago, May 20, 1859.

Editor Staats-Zeitung:

Dear Sir:—On my return from Supreme Court last evening, I found your note of the 18th, asking my opinion as "Chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Chicago" of the recent Amendment of the Massachusetts Constitution.

I understand that Amendment to impose upon naturalized citizens a restriction of the right of suffrage not required of citizens born in this country. I regard this as unwise, unjust, anti-Republican, and against the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States. When the Constitution gave to Congress the power "to establish an uniform system of naturalization," and provided "that the citizens of each State should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," it certainly could not have been expected that any State would impose restrictions upon the exercise of the rights of suffrage not required by the naturalization laws of the Federal Government.

But whatever may be the Constitutional right of Massachusetts to adopt this amendent, I regard it as most unwise, unjust, and antagonistic to the great principles upon which the Republican party is based. It is unwise and unjust to create a distinction between a native and a naturalized citizen. When a man becomes naturalized, he voluntarily adopts our country as his own. He makes our country his country by choice, by preference. He becomes one of us. His home is with us. His fortunes, his interests, his family, his all, become identified with ours. Is it not as wise as it is just, that when he has thus clothed himself with the rights of American citizenship, he should be made to feel that he was a welcome addition to the great brotherhood of freemen which compose the Republic?

While all must respect the feeling of attachment with which all good men remember their Fatherland, yet it is clearly the policy of our country so to treat her adopted citizens as to make them regard all nationalities as secondary to the grand idea of American citizenship.

This amendment, creating, as it does, an invidious distinction, has a tendency to keep alive and active that class feeling which all should seek to suppress. This discrimination which it creates is as unjust to the memory of the dead as it is to the worth and merit of the living. The history of our country is brilliant with the names of those born in a foreign land, whose love of our free institutions induced them to connect their fortunes with ours. The names of La Fayette, of Gallatin, Kosciusko, Pulaski, De Kalb, Steuben, Emmett, and many others in our earlier and later history, show that however a narrow and illiberal feeling may have at times manifested itself in particular localities, our country as a whole, in its policy towards the foreign-born, has been liberal and generous. Indeed, it is so obviously the interest of our country to encourage emigration and thereby develop our vast territories still unimpaired, that no other policy can prevail. The advantages of immigration here at the West, and especially to our own State and City, are so apparent, there has never been any difference of opinion among us on the subject. Our naturalized citizens have brought

industry, enterprise, wealth, good morals, and all the elements of prosperity to the Northwest, and here they have engaged in a generous and not unsuccessful rivalry with us, in building up and advancing the prosperity of our common country. I am sure there are none among us who would lessen their privileges. The policy of encouraging immigration and felicitating the settlement and naturalization of foreigners among us, in the early history of the Republic, found its most earnest advocate in Thomas Jefferson, that great statesman whose disciples are today found in the Republican party alone. In this policy, as upon the question of slavery, the so-called Democratic party has abandoned the principles of Jefferson. He embodied in the Declaration of Independence, as one of the grounds of separation from the mother country, that "He (the King of Great Britain) has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, etc."

The Republican party, recognizing as the basis for their organization the great principles of liberty so earnestly advocated by Jefferson, are seeking to bring back the Government to the policy of its founders. Since the so-called Democratic party has passed into the exclusive control of the Slave Power, it has very naturally manifested a jealousy of the free labor of the Old World, and its policy towards it has been narrow and unjust. The rapid addition of Free States in the Northwest, the result, in a large degree, of the emigration from abroad, has very naturally alarmed the Slave Power. Hence the illiberal provision of the Kansas-Nebraska acts; hence the voting down by Democratic slaveholding Senators of the amendments proposed by Republican Senators, to encourage the settlement of the public lands. Hence the defeat, by the same influence, of the Homestead Bill; hence the efforts of the pro-slavery Democratic party to extend slavery over free territory; hence the infamous Kansas outrages and Lecompton swindle.

The policy of the Republican party is to secure the unoccupied portion of this continent to the free labor of the world. The Democratic party controlled by the Slave Power is struggling to Africanize it, to appropriate it to slave labor. Hence that party is the natural enemy of the free labor which comes to us from abroad. The issue for 1860 is made up. The triumph of the Republican party will secure the public lands to free labor, without regard to birth-place.

The triumph of the Democratic party will secure, so far as the influence of the Federal Government can control it, the territories to slave labor. To furnish means of accomplishing this the slave trade is already openly, and under a Democratic Administration, carried on with impunity.

With this great issue before us, I doubt not the American and German Republicans will be found fighting side by side for freedom and free labor.

Our only strife will be to see who will do most to secure the success of those great principles of universal liberty which animate alike the American and the German Republican.

Very truly yours,

ISAAC N. ARNOLD,

Chairman Republican Central Committee.

Sufficient has been given, perhaps, to indicate the intensity of public interest during May in the "Two Year" Amendment among the electors of Illinois. The assertion, however, becomes incontrovertible if one will examine the amount and character of the attention given the subject in the foremost papers of Illinois, if we merely note the number of editorials; if we canvass the character of their expression and their length if we list the number of reprints of articles from other papers dealing with the subject, of communications thereon, of resolutions and speeches dealing with the Amendment. Somewhat of the attention and space devoted to it may be inferred from foregoing exhibits but the intensity of public interest can best be realized by a mere catalog of the titles. As a summary and premise for the analysis which follows two lists are here given. They are taken from two of the leading dailies of Chicago: The first from a Republican organ; the second from a Democratic organ.

The Press and Tribune contained the following articles, editorial and other:

April 29—"Republican State Central Committee of Iowa and the Naturalization Question"—Reprint of resolutions.
May 5—"Massachusetts"—Editorial.
May 6—"The Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts"—Editorial.
May 6—"The Massachusetts Two Year Amendment"—Letter from Senator Grimes of Iowa—Reprint.
May 11—"Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts"—Editorial.
May 11—"Gov. Chase on Naturalization"—Editorial.
May 14—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.
May 16—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Letter from Hon. E. B. Washburne—Reprint.
May 17—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.
May 18—"The Democracy and the Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.
May 18—"The Massachusetts Amendment—Resolutions of the Young Men's Republican Association of Springfield"—Reprint.
May 21—"The Massachusetts Amendment:" (1) "Lincoln's Letter to Dr. Canisius." (2) "Resolutions of the Republicans of Peoria." (3) "Speech of W. H. Herndon."
May 23—Senator Trumbull to Dr. Canisius.
May 23—I. N. Arnold to Editor of *Illinois Staats-Zeitung.*
May 24—"The Massachusetts Amendment." Reprints Lovejoy's Letter to Editor of *Illinois Staats-Zeitung.*
May 26—"The Massachusetts Amendment." Reprints Judd's Letter to Germans of Peoria.
May 28—Letter of F. B. Blair on the Massachusetts Amendment.

The Chicago Times, the particular organ of Senator Douglas, during the same period, had the following articles upon the same subject:

June 6—Reprint of Ohio State Republican Platform.
May 5—"The Proscription of Foreigners"—Editorial.
May 7—"A Silly Effort to Shirk Responsibility"—Editorial.
May 11—"Interesting to Adopted Citizens"—Editorial.
May 13—"Republicans and the Two Year Amendment"—Editorial.
May 17—"Governor Banks and the Two Year Amendment"—Editorial.
May 19—"Republicans and Foreigners"—Editorial.
May 22—"The Panic in the Republican Party"—Editorial.
May 24—"Mr. I. N. Arnold's Letter"—Editorial.
May 26—"Where is Mr. Judd?"—Editorial.
May 27—"'Gov' Judd's Letter"—Editorial.
June 2—"The Republicans and Their Negro Allies in Massachusetts"—Editorial.
June 10—"The Disabilities of Non-Citizens"—Editorial.
June 15—"Naturalization and Voting"—Editorial.

Editors of our daily press are keen watchers of the currents and tides of popular interest. They are concerned with little else and give scant consideration to dead eddies, mere drift wood and back wash. They are seldom aroused by abstractions, "mere theories" or remote eventualities. The clash and clutch of human interests in the madding crowd hold them always in thrall.

VIII.

The exhibits just given indicate beyond all cavil that the Republicans of Illinois felt that they confronted a crisis and they appreciated that instant and decisive action was imperative if the plans of the party in the impending national campaign were not to be upset and their chances of success in 1860 obliterated. Sundry facts are worthy of note.

The Germans of Illinois took their cue manifestly from the Germans of Iowa. This is obvious in the letters addressed by Mr. Schneider to Congressmen Farnsworth, Lovejoy and Washburne: for the questions the latter specifically answer are precisely those drafted by Dr. Hillgaertner, et al., and presented to Senator Grimes and Harlan of Iowa. Mr. Schneider probably acted on his own initiative in presenting the interrogatories; but it would not be strange if Dr. Hillgaertner had

first suggested the manoeuvre to him, as he was familiar with German leaders in Chicago and intimately acquainted with the editorial force of the *Staats-Zeitung*.

There was not, however, the concerted action in Illinois that there was in Iowa. Mr. Schneider appears to have acted singly and for himself in the letters he addressed to Messrs. Farnsworth, Lovejoy, Washburne and Arnold. Two of his letters were dated on the 10th; one on the 18th and the other on the 20th. Committees seem to have been organized as in Iowa but without concert of action, one with another. Thus the committee at Peoria does not appear to have included the members of the one at Springfield. Dr. Theodore Canisius, Charles Hermann and others at Springfield addressed the same letter to Messrs. Lincoln and Trumbull.

The influence of proceedings in Iowa on the course of events in Illinois is indicated not only in the similarity of the methods pursued, in the questions submitted, and in more or less concert of action, as in Iowa, but in the particular mention of Senator Grimes—naming him with Senator Wilson of Massachusetts and Mr. Carl Schurz of Milwaukee—in the resolution adopted at Springfield on the night of May 14. The specific commendation of Iowa's junior Senator is rather substantial evidence indicating the direct and positive influence of the antecedent developments in Iowa upon the course of events in Illinois.

The stress of things produced by the demand of the Germans for explicit declarations from the Republican leaders in and about Chicago is illustrated by a minor incident not uninstructive here. Mr. N. B. Judd, next to Messrs. Lincoln and Trumbull was perhaps the most influential party chief among the Republicans of Illinois, at least of northern Illinois. For some reason his letter of May 17, of even date with Lincoln and Trumbull's responses to Dr. Canisius was not published in the American papers until May 26. Apparently the fact that he had been addressed by Messrs. Peiffer, Violand and Deider of Peoria was either known or suspected; for on May 26, *The Times* of Chicago came out with a half column leader headed: "Where is Mr. Judd?" The public was told that "Washburne,

Lovejoy, Trumbull, Arnold, Lincoln and a number of Republicans in Illinois have published letters repudiating the actions of the Republicans of Massachusetts * * but never a word from Mr. Judd." The Democrats had a fine opportunity for first class bear-baiting and did not refrain. Mr. Judd's letter appeared in *The Press and Tribune* on the same morning that *The Times* contained the editorial just cited.

If any additional proof were needed to clinch the assertion of *The Express and Herald* of Dubuque, that the Republicans of Illinois were in a real panic it is abundantly afforded in the contents of the resolutions adopted at Peoria and Springfield. Their language not only imports that the Germans had been grossly mistreated, insulted and outraged by the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts but it declares that the liberties and the best memories of the American people were thereby assailed and put in danger. One of our major grievances against King George III was his harsh treatment of the forbears of the Germans and for them our fathers spilt their blood and treasure in the glorious revolution. More than this the Peorians proclaim that the freemen of the North and of Illinois in particular were "greatly indebted to the foreign born citizens for the absence of slavery in our midst and its numerous attendant evils." Such allegation, while interesting and instructive and supremely flattering to the *amour propre* of the sensitive Germans, must have been astonishing information to lusty Americans and Know-Nothings, information that must have produced either complete stupefaction or intense exasperation and revulsion. But whether true or fallacious, the fact that the Republicans of Peoria would thus proclaim their appreciation of the momentous influence of the Germans in our common life and polity from the outset of our national life demonstrates the alarm, not to say the desperation, of the Republican managers in Illinois in May, 1859.

The same conclusion follows from the character of the contents of the resolutions adopted at Springfield. Their language is not so pronounced and sweeping as was the case with those adopted at Peoria—the difference in the number of Germans in the immediate neighborhood may account for the dif-

ference in the ardor and anxiety displayed—nevertheless the same alarm is exhibited. Moreover, it was displayed in a practical fashion that indicated that the party managers deemed energetic action urgent. The managers and the mass meeting directed the officers of the meeting to send copies of the resolutions to all parts of the state and to secure their widest publication. Such a proceeding by practical politicians in the state capital, at the instigation, or at the least with the approval of the party chiefs, was a fact of the deepest significance. Little bands or groups of missionaries and philanthropists frequently proceed thus, without political significance; but such a meeting as that on the 14th of May in the Republican Hall and such a series of resolutions and such a program of propagandism were facts of maximum political significance.

Contemporary accounts do not show whether or not Mr. Lincoln attended the meeting at Springfield on May 14; but it is unlikely that he did do so, as the fact would have been widely heralded. We may assume that the meeting, however, was not without his knowledge and approval for it is inconceivable that local leaders, many of whom were ardent promoters of his political interests, would go ahead reckless of his adverse opinion. This conclusion is almost compelled by the presence and participation in the proceedings of his law partner, Mr. Wm. H. Herndon. Partners in practical business are not necessarily co-workers in politics. But in this instance there was complete reciprocity of interest—although not perfect accord always in practical application of views or concurrence as to time and place for expression or action—and a mutual consideration that makes certain the conclusion that Mr. Herndon did nothing and said nothing that night without feeling that his distinguished associate in business was not only not averse but approved. We may presume confidently that there had been more or less conference between them and other local leaders as to the nature of the danger threatening from the Germans.

IX.

The various letters from the Republican leaders present sundry interesting and some very instructive phases. They vary widely in the art of their expression, in the tactics of the writers, in the degrees of prudence and in the vehemence displayed in discussing the various phases of the matter in issue. The art of Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius, its political significance and its superior efficiency can only be appreciated by close comparison.

The kindest, the mildest letter, in some respects the most considerate of the sensibilities of opponents is that of Congressman Lovejoy's. He is concise and unequivocal. He confines himself entirely to dissent from the principle of the act but refrains from harsh criticism of those responsible for the "Two Year" Amendment. There is a grace and charity that seems remote from the hurly-burly and clash of politics. It suggests the idealist and philanthropist, the philosopher and the preacher, rather than the keen, poised politician, alert to conserve his forces and counterbalance against reaction.

Congressmen Farnsworth and Washburne indulge in strong language. Mr. Farnsworth brands the act of Massachusetts as "odious," pronounces it "insulting and unjust" and "protests" against any one charging the Republicans with responsibility therefor. Congressman Washburne is much more vehement and sweeping in his observations. He asserts his "abhorrence of the action of those Republicans of Massachusetts." He refers to it as "this last and meanest act;" as a recurrence of "Intolerant Know-Nothingism;" and he proclaims that the Republicans of Massachusetts who supported the Amendment had "placed themselves beyond the pale of sympathy" of Republicans elsewhere who "universally condemn their action."

Such characterization no doubt effectively expressed the feelings and the sentiments of the Congressmen quoted and no doubt thoroughly satisfied the utmost demands of the Germans immediately in mind. But such vigor, such slashing epithet and vehemence of denunciation "cut both ways", as experienced politicians know full well. The physical law of ac-

tion and reaction operates in politics. Such language would produce resentment and recrimination among "Americans" and sometime Know Nothings and among all those in Massachusetts who had given countenance and support to the Amendment in question. If the majorities in their respective districts made Congressmen Farnsworth and Washburne safe and indifferent to the feelings of those criticized, or of their friends and sympathizers, they might be reckless as to consequences. Otherwise they were imprudent and impolitic. If either Congressman had or might have some far-reaching plans, the realization of which ultimately depended upon the good will and concurrence of fellow Republicans in Massachusetts, New Jersey and other states where sentiments similar to those prevalent in Massachuetts were not uncommon, then such harsh and sweeping criticism and denunciation were not merely imprudent but utter folly.

The letters of the two party field marshals, Messrs. I. N. Arnold and N. B. Judd, were much more effective in these respects. They were very adroit in their comment and prudent in their criticism. There is little or nothing in their letters that would arouse virulent retort or produce violent resentment. Each one dwells upon the positive and substantial efforts of the Republican Party to encourage liberal legislation in state and national government beneficial to the foreign born. Mr. Arnold enlarges effectively upon the studied discrimination enforced or urged by the pro-slavery leaders in Congress against foreigners in recent or in pending legislation—especially in the Homestead bills. Mr. Judd was particularly strong in the presentation of his views. He emphasized the well known efforts of the Republican party and its leaders not only to insure the foreign born equality before the law but also to promote Germans in respect of public honors. Of the letters of both it may be said that while both easily commended themselves to Germans and both were lacking in harsh comment which would provoke counteraction, both would dull and deaden the energies of Americans and nativistic propagandists. Their contents would enhance the chances of Republican success in and about the cities of Chicago, Peoria or Quincy, but not in the

counties of Logan, Madison, Mason, Morgan and Sangamon, counties, wherein Southerners swarmed and old-line Whigs and supporters of Fillmore predominated.

Senator Trumbull's letter is especially interesting in contrast with those just named and with that of his great contemporary. It is a strong letter, as we should anticipate from a statesman of the large calibre and staunch character of Senator Trumbull. But while he delivers some vigorous thrusts and satisfies the most captious of Germans, his letter does not stand comparison with the other letter addressed to Dr. Canisius on the same date, neither in style nor in substance.

Senator Trumbull needlessly asserts his courage. His character had been thoroughly tested and was well known to be stout and staunch. He does not berate his fellow Republicans in Massachusetts with harsh epithets that burn or scar, but he does present his criticism of Massachusetts in such a way as to make his fellow Republicans in that Commonwealth sting with the implications of his characterization. In what possible way could he in that year of grace have been more severe upon the electors of Massachusetts than by the deadly parallel he bluntly suggests between the iniquities in Kansas under the ruthless slavocrats and the injustice done the foreign born and naturalized citizens by the discrimination enforced against them in the Commonwealth whose citizens serenely assumed primacy in culture and christianity; and on occasion were not averse to asserting their superiority? Even ardent Abolitionists of the Garrisonian persuasion might conceivably resent such a damnatory implication.

He concedes the right of a State under our Federal scheme to conduct its domestic policy as its electors may deem appropriate, yet he contradicts his concession by the nature of the criticisms he applies. A right in law implies a duty on the part of others to respect its exercise and to submit in silence or with grace if we disapprove.

Senator Trumbull's condemnation of the Democrats because they sought to make "political capital" out of the act of the Republicans *et al.* in Massachusetts must have produced a sardonic smile when Democrats read it or heard of it. He

counters with but little force when he shows that the Democrats really were as bad as the Republicans in this matter, and even worse because they were doing violence to their pet dogma of popular sovereignty when they criticized the electors of Massachusets for enacting the "Two Year" Amendment. The inference from this counter was again the deadly parallel between Kansas and Massachusetts.

He seems to make a more vigorous and effective thrust when he refers to the effort of the Democrats to deny the right of suffrage to aliens resident in Minnesota at the time the act for the admission of that state into the Union was on its passage through Congress. Conceding the point his counter assertion was negative: it meant that the Republicans were as bad as the Democrats and Germans could not count upon superior treatment from the Republicans. To say that the other fellow is just as bad as we are or given to like reprehensible tactics is public confession that our course is not creditable. Senator Trumbull, however, shot wide of the real mark, and for him, strangely missed the real point in issue in his reference to the constitution of Minnesota. The two cases were not coincident or parallel at all. In the case of Minnesota the Democrats sought merely to deny the right of suffrage under the new constitution submitted to Congress to *aliens*, to-wit, foreign born not yet naturalized. Their design did not affect naturalized citizens adversely in any manner. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, naturalized American citizens, the peers under our great Federal charter and laws of any and all of the lineal descendants of the Pilgrim fathers were specifically barred from equal rights and privileges in the electoral franchise, until they could certify an additional residence of two years. This was a bald and open discrimination between American citizens. A Carl Follen, a Francis Lieber, a Carl Schurz did not have the same right in respect of the ballot and public office in the Great Commonwealth of the Puritans that an ignorant, stupid, vicious runaway Negro from the Dismal Swamp enjoyed after a single year's residence. This was a blazing contrast that loomed huge and disagreeable on the horizon and

explanation or palliation but aggravated the offense. Frank disapproval alone sufficed.

Senator Trumbull wrote Dr. Canisius, as he spoke in the arena. He had his eye fixed solely upon the great enemy of the public welfare as he viewed the prospect, namely the Pro-Slavery party, and he directed his fire chiefly with that opponent immediately and ultimately in view. The allurement of Germans, the prevention of their defection, the allayment of their discontent and suspicion in order that their numbers and tremendous energy as one of the major corps of the Anti-Slavery forces might be conserved and enhanced—such was the primary consideration of Senator Trumbull. The intense feelings of "Americans" and Nativists; the keen sensibilities of puritanical folk who disliked the liberal notions and jovial customs of the foreign born; the rancorous hate of religious fanatics and the persistent malevolence of nativistic zealots and factionists —these matters that count always and must always be included carefully in the reckoning were not foremost in Senator Trumbull's mind and they do not appear to have received any incidental consideration. The possibility, let alone the probability that the potency of the Germans had an equivalent correlative that could prove no less potent for good or ill to the great cause he sought to promote by his letter to Dr. Canisius does not appear to have been in contemplation.

X.

The speech of Mr. Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's law partner, at the Republican Hall, Springfield, Saturday night, May 14, is in many respects one of the most interesting exhibits of all those given. His speech, like the resolutions, was given extensive publication. It appeared not only in the *State Journal* at the capital and in *The Press and Tribune* at Chicago, but it was printed at length in Garrison's *Liberator* at Boston, April 8.

The prominence of Mr. Herndon in the meeting in the nature of the case suggests concert of action between himself and his distinguished partner. In the first place it may be doubted if any serious political movement was undertaken by

the Republican leaders of Springfield between 1856 and 1860 without the immediate knowledge and advice, or general approval of Mr. Lincoln. The fact that Mr. Herndon's speech was printed at all and so widely published, suggests prearrangement in the well known law office on the Courthouse square. The intimacy of the partners, their general harmony of views and Mr. Herndon's hearty desire to further the ambitions and advancement of his associate are well known, and any other conclusion is inconceivable.

Mr. Herndon's speech, however, was not in his best vein. Its style is rather highflown and the reasoning sentimental; not nearly so strong as his published correspondence and his *Life of Lincoln* demonstrate him to have been capable of when at his best. It may not be fair to hold him accountable for what may have been a hastily written newspaper report of his speech, but its character and contents indicate strongly that the printers set it up from prepared copy.

There is not a little in the speech that smacks of Garrisonian idealism and New England transcendentalism. His philanthropy embraces the world and includes high and low alike. The idealist, however, keeps his feet on the ground. He displays the practicality of the wily politician and plays directly upon the sensibilities of the Germans with the zeal of the average stump speaker.

He apparently made a wide survey of the struggles of European peoples for freedom and constitutional government and insinuated, if he did not directly assert, that the French, the Germans, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Italians, were all of the Lord's elect, all parts of one stupendous whole that comprehends the European refugee and the hapless slave. Much of his reasoning, however, will not stand sharp scrutiny. This fact arouses no little curiosity as to the actual knowledge his law partner had of the speech before it was delivered and before its publication. For his associate in business would not have made the errors in tactics and the slips in prudence that stand out so clearly in Mr. Herndon's speech.

Mr. Herndon declares that whenever the act of a state "projectingly acts upon us, reaching outside and by its swing

and sweep, injuriously and destructively affects us", then we —the citizens of sister states, nearby or remote, as the case may be—have a right to protest and, of course—if he means anything by the term *protest*—to take adequate measures to nullify such action. Such reasoning, when advanced by the Southern statesmen in rejoinder to hostile legislation in Northern states, was invariably treated with vaulting scorn by anti-slavery spokesmen.

He follows the lead of *The Press and Tribune* in alleging that the Democrats really conceived and pushed forward the unjust amendment in Massachusetts against which the Germans protest. He informed his audience and the state and nation at large that the Democrats "could have killed it if they had wished to do so." The letter from a correspondent in Boston, to which he refers, was doubtless from his long time intimate friend, Theodore Parker.

The total vote for the Amendment in the official returns reached only 21,119. That number was less than a third of the vote cast for Gov. Banks in 1856, who received 69,049 votes; and it was less than a fifth of the total vote cast for John C. Fremont for President in 1856, whose vote was 108,020. In other words, of the Republican electors in Massachusetts alone, there were four times as many who stayed at home on May 9 and either refused or neglected to vote against the Amendment. The entire Democratic vote in Massachusetts, either in 1856 or in 1858, did not aggregate 40,000. Mr. Herndon was not one to permit himself to deal in gross perversions of figures or facts, but like many another "progressive" in these advanced days, he was more or less heedless, not to say reckless, in assertion in the press and rush of controversy.

In some respects the most astonishing statement in Mr. Herndon's speech is his declaration: "Once an American citizen, always an American citizen." Such an assertion without qualification must have aroused violent memories in the minds of veterans of the War of 1812, who either heard or read his speech. It was in large part as a protest against this very doctrine that our nation waged a two years' war with Great Britain. Within a month four out of every five Republican

papers, and virtually all anti-slavery journals in the north were to break forth in one terrific chorus of furious denunciation of the concession by President Buchanan's venerable Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, of this self-same doctrine here proclaimed by Mr. Herndon, and Germans were to prove the most vigorous and the most vehement protestants against the doctrine which was then asserted by Austria, France, Germany and Russia against their emigrant sons. For years southern slaveowners and southern leaders had maintained that once a slave, always a slave, and they insisted on applying precisely the same principle to their fugitive chattels, no matter how long they might reside in friendly northern states and no matter what status might be conferred upon them by friendly legislation in their northern habitats. Yet their contention was universally treated with withering scorn by Abolitionists and anti-slavery Republicans.

Excluding the considerations here adverted to, which usually are matters of little concern to any but the hypercritical who count for little in the clash and clinch of party strife, Mr. Herndon's speech had no little strength. His humanitarian sentiments were generous and glowing with ardent feeling. His Democracy comprehended all classes alien and native, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, high and low. One law for all, one test of character and conduct under the law, equality of opportunity and uniformity of treatment under the constitution and the laws; these were ideals that commend themselves and compel acceptance. Germans must needs applaud.

In the light of the antecedent and collateral facts just exhibited, let us examine the character and contents of Abraham Lincoln's letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius.

XI.

The most noteworthy fact about Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius, it is not extravagant to say, was the mere fact that the letter itself was written and given out to the public. The writer was not only not much given to letter writing, but on

principle studiously avoided committing his views on moot matters to paper. He was an exceedingly able and alert practical politician and he knew the fatalities attendant upon effusive epistolary declarations. He was afraid of the notable inopportuneness or unwisdom of publication amidst the kaleidoscopic changes of politics and the constant shifting of public interest.[14] There must have been a serious exigency that compelled him to put himself thus on paper as he did in his letter of May 17 to the committee of Germans of the state capital.

The letter of Mr. Lincoln, like the one of Senator Grimes, was a model of conciseness and lucidity, pith and point. He expresses dissent and disapproval of the act of Massachusetts, but he hits the nail and nothing else. He does not enmesh himself as did so many of his confreres in a network of ugly implications. His language neither burns nor scars, yet it is luminous and flashes far and wide a principle of human equality that critics could not deny and those for whom it was intended would greet with hearty applause. He did not lay about with cat--o-nine tails or "go after" the foolish patriots and philosophers of the Old Puritan Commonwealth. At the same time he struck straight out at the act complained of by the Germans.

The letter to Dr. Canisius exhibits the surefooted lawyer, who is scrupulously observant of principle and realizes the depth and sweep thereof and the ground fact that a right, when it exists, must compel respect for those exercising it, as the correlative duty that insures the realization of the right. Thus his frank assertion that he had no right to "scold" the people of Massachusetts for their determination as to a matter of internal administration. But his explicit declaration to this effect is not inconsistent with his immediate assertion that he was opposed to the principle and policy of the Amendment in Massachusetts and that he would oppose its adoption in Illinois and in the federal jurisdiction wherever he had a legal right of expression and action.

[14] See *Works of Abraham Lincoln,* edited by M. M. Miller, Vol. IX. Letters to Schuyler Colfax and to Geo. D. Prentice. The latter Lincoln held for some time in his possession, uncertain as to the advisability of forwarding.

While there is no "protest" against the act of Massachusetts, no denunciation and no ugly implications in Mr. Lincoln's communication which could give just offense to his fellow Republicans in that state, nevertheless, his letter does plainly pronounce the "Two Year" Amendment unjust and to be deplored. We cannot, in the nature of the case, exercise our just right of public discussion whereby we may condemn and deplore an act or policy without thereby passing an adverse judgment upon the persons or party responsible therefor. If, as he alleged, the spirit of our institutions "aim at the *elevation* of men", his assertion that he was consequently "opposed to whatever tends to degrade them," was a severe reflection upon proposers of the act in question. But the sturdy sons of Massachusetts could not complain of this inference, for Democracy and free speech are not possible otherwise.

The most severe reflection upon the recent act of Massachusetts is strikingly suggested in Mr. Lincoln's reference to his reputation—"notoriety", as he phrases it—"for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro," which might be expected to cause him to oppose "any project for curtailing the existing right of *white men,* even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself." This bare suggestion—or more correctly, this slight hint, so concise is his language—comprehends and meets the bitterest complaints of the protesting Germans and the most contemptuous and damaging denunciation of the Democrats. It exalted the central principle of all the anti-slavery forces and none of the leaders of the Opposition in Massachusetts could take just exception to the inference to be drawn therefrom.

The curious and the cynical may be asking the question whether or not the sentiments given expression in the response to Dr. Canisius reflected deep seated convictions or merely the opinion of the moment compounded of dread of party defeat and desire to placate the belligerent Germans. Mr. Lincoln was a politician *par excellence,* whose weather-eye was both keen and farseeing. His contemporaries and his biographers all tell us, and his writings all confirm their opinion, that he was always guided in matters of grave concern by basic principles

and not by the vagrant winds of popular prejudice and passion or the fitful gusts of popular fancy or fury. Conclusive proof of this assertion is afforded us in his striking letter addressed to his boyhood friend, Joshua F. Speed of Louisville, on August 24, 1855, towards the close of which occurs precisely the same sentiment expressed four years later to Dr. Canisius: "I am not a know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people?"[15]

The distinguished Republican leader of Illinois was not in deed or in thought "playing" to the German vote in 1859. His expression on May 17 was the considerate outgiving of conviction arrived at years before when malevolent fanaticism was sweeping over the nation in ruthless tides, wrecking party crafts and blasting hopes and dreams of place and power and only those who had the stuff of true patriots and staunch statesmen in their makeup could resist the fury of the onslaught.

Mr. Lincoln's courage and farsightedness were displayed no less conspicuously in his answer to the inquiry of Dr. Canisius' committee, anent his attitude towards "fusion" of the Republicans "with the other opposition elements for the canvass of 1860." Here again we have downright expression, concise and unequivocal, hitting the mark only. If we lacked evidence of his courage, clear-headedness, large-mindedness and far-sightedness, we have it in this portion of his reply. And again, his frankness under the circumstances not only elicited the applause of friends, but compelled the admiration of party opponents and factional critics. In order to appreciate the significance of his expression we must realize somewhat of the drifts of political discussion among the Republicans of the other Op-

[15] The balance of the paragraph is not uninteresting:

"Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'All men are created free and equal.' We now practically read it 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' When the Knownothings get control, 'All men are created equal, except negroes, foreigners and catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

position elements in the country at large in the four months preceding.

In December 1858 Greeley's *Tribune* had suggested that it would be wise for the opponents of slavery to consider the feasibility of a working alliance and suggested that the Republicans nominate the candidate for Vice President and the other Opposition elements pick the candidate for President. The realization of this proposal seemed to give the whip hand to the old-time Whigs and the followers of ex-President Fillmore, chiefly know-nothings and "Americans." Discussion was drifting in this direction when on April 26 Greeley published a powerful leader on "The Presidency in 1860." After showing in some detail the distribution of the Fremont and Fillmore votes in 1856 and demonstrating that the opponents of the Pro-slavery Administration, if they would but consolidate their forces, had a decided preponderance in the forthcoming contest, *The Tribune* said:

"Of course it is plain that a substantial, practical union of the electors who supported Fremont and Fillmore respectively, insures a triumph in 1860, even though there should be a scaling off on either side, as there possibly would be. We can afford to lose one hundred thousand of the Opposition vote in 1856 and still carry the next President by a handsome majority." The editorial then proceeds to point out that there is no material difference between the Whigs and the Americans on the subject of slavery and then observes as to candidates: "Most certainly we should prefer an original Republican—Governor Seward or Governor Chase—but we shall heartily and zealously support one like John Bell, Edward Bates or John M. Botts, provided that we are assured that his influence, his patronage, his power, if chosen President, will be used, not to extend slavery, but to confine it to the states that see fit to uphold it."

These sentiments of Greeley's paper—all of which must strike all to-day as preeminently sane and the very essence of common sense in practical politics—aroused the country over a veritable storm of protest and contemptuous comment from the radical and irrepressible anti-slavery editors and spokesmen. They immediately suspected the suggestion to be a

Machiavellian proposal; at best naught else than a concession that meant capitulation involving the abnegation of the party of freedom, another miserable compromise with the forces of darkness whereby principles gave way to policy and plunder. And the stiffbacked radicals would have none of it.

Greeley's editorial produced a violent reaction among the Germans. The German press, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was by a considerable majority, radical and outspoken in its opposition to slavery, opposed to its extension and opposed to its very existence and not averse to summary measures for its extinction. The iniquities of the institution—particularly the frightful phases of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law—and some of the assertions of the Supreme court in the case of Dred Scott reminded "Forty-eighters" of the processes of tyranny under the oppressive rule of their Fatherland which they fled in 1848 and later years. An alliance, or any formal affiliation with the conservative whigs who resisted any interference with the rights of slaveholders aroused them to protest. Another fact provoked their wrath and fury.

Greeley's willingness to join with the "Americans" of the South and the remnants of the Know-nothings in the North was to Germans an unspeakable abomination, for their memories were full of bitter recollections of the harsh and mean and often brutal persecutions they endured during the heyday of Know-nothingism. As Germans regarded them, Messrs. Bates, Bell and Botts stood foremost in the country as sanctioning narrow, proscriptive legislation and by their silence, if not by speech, giving their countenance to the brutalities of Know-nothingism. Greeley's suggestion meant an unholy alliance with the powers of evil and hence the point blank question in Dr Canisius' letter to Mr. Lincoln—did he favor the "fusion" of the Republicans with the "other Opposition elements for the canvass of 1860?" Needless to say, the inquiry was grand strategy and masterly tactics—a tremendous drive at the very centre of the war zone.

Dr. Canisius and his confreres knew that there was intense and widespread opposition to "fusion" among staunch

anti-slavery folk, and they knew too, that Mr. Lincoln was aware of the intense feelings of the Germans in respect of anything that smacked of Know-nothingism. With Germans universally aroused in alarm and protest against the "Two Year" amendment, their plump question at that juncture was in truth a crucial test of the character and capacity of the man addressed. And with royal certitude he promptly replied.

Mr. Lincoln did not hedge himself about with saving clauses that would enable him to face both ways and deny or assert as circumstances and variable attacks might make convenient. He declared in the most direct, straightforward manner that he was in favor of fusion with any and all elements of the Opposition if the terms of the alliance could be arranged satisfactorily. There was one central fact—an irreducible minimum—on which all could stand, to-wit, antagonism to the extension of slavery. Idealists and realists, liberals and conservatives, could come together on this common ground. All can unite easily and effectively upon a universal issue. The great objective is the defeat of the party in power that favors or protects the evil complained of, and ballots, like bullets, are impersonal. It matters little or nothing whence they come if thereby opponents are routed and driven from place and power. Those who desired the overthrow of the Pro-slavery party should not stickle at minor and subsidiary considerations. If such matters were to be contemplated it would not be long before such petty considerations as diet, clothes and family would determine party action, and chaos would ensue.

Any dodging or juggling on the subject of slavery was given no countenance whatever. Any color of compromise on principle would be "as foolish as unprincipled;" and he would not lower the Republican standard by "a hair's breadth." But with this *sine qua non* assured Mr. Lincoln was frank to the point of bluntness. He would join forces with any party or faction, or group and he would follow the lead of any tried and true standard bearer whose character and guidon would inspire confidence and afford the greatest hope of success. And he states bluntly that he would "cheerfully support" a number of "good and patriotic men

of the South" if they would "place themselves on Republican ground." In the light of then recent discussion such an assertion could have meant but one thing. Mr. Lincoln would support Messrs. Bates, Banks, Bell, Botts or Cameron, should any one of them be nominated. To give out such a statement and right into the teeth of the militant Germans, was either a most daring and reckless assertion of independence or it was an act of supreme sagacity and perfect politics.

The premises of perfect politics, in the old Greek sense of the term, are what Montesqieu would declare to be the "necessary relations of things," or as Carlyle later was wont to put it, "the eternal verities." The premises Abraham Lincoln rarely failed to discern and to comprehend, and when realized he stood squarely thereon, regardless of the dissent or doubts or dread of shifty and timid souls about him. In the art of politics, in the adjustment of procedure to principles and prudence, the distinguished Republican leader of Springfield was a past master and his ability and achievement were never more effectively demonstrated than in his response to the interrogatories of Dr. Canisius and confreres.

Dr. Canisius, in his letter to the editor of the *Daily State Journal,* communicating Mr. Lincoln's reply of May 17, declared that the response "of the gallant champion of our state is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican party, and also with the views of the entire German Republican press." This statement, of itself, is a superb tribute to Mr. Lincoln's sagacity and staunch character as a practical politician, who is the real statesman in fact. It signified instant approval of his position and views when he normally might have anticipated for a portion of his letter, disfavor, if not violent dissent.

Dr. Canisius indulged in excessive statement when he informed the *State Journal* that "the whole German population" and the "entire German Republican press" concurred in Mr. Lincoln's views. The editor of *Der Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* apparently allowed his intense satisfaction over Mr. Lincoln's unqualified expression of disapproval of the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment to induce the generous

conclusion that Germans were no less accordant with his views anent "fusion", but he was seriously in error as the developments of the next twelve months demonstrated. At no time before the national Republican convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, was any considerable proportion of the German Republican press agreeable to the nomination of Bell or Bates or Botts. The candidacy of Judge Bates had been announced some time before and his friends were promoting it vigorously, but the German press, generally speaking, treated it with either contemptuous silence or with downright denunciation. This hostile attitude steadily increased among the radical Germans until March it lead to an organized movement that gave a quietus to the hopes and plans of the friends of Judge Bates at the Chicago convention. But this is another story.

The matter of importance and of chief significance, however, is not the exact truth of Dr. Canisius' statement in his letter to the *State Journal* that Mr. Lincoln expressed the views of German republican editors, but the mere fact that he, Dr. Canisius, should so assert his belief and thereby express his great satisfaction with the reply of his fellow-townsman to the interrogatories of his Committee.

XII.

During his public career Abraham Lincoln wrote some notable letters, justly celebrated for their felicity and force of expression, their acumen and profundity, and marvelous effectiveness, but it may be doubted if he ever wrote any letter with greater skill and effect than his letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius. The literary art of the letter was perfect; directness and simplicity of language; neither fine writing nor magniloquence and no ponderous platitudes; merely lucid, luminous assertion strictly confined to the naked issue. As the editor of the *State Journal* appropriately put it: there was not a word too much and every word was needed.

In his response Mr. Lincoln not only satisfied the militant Germans, but he fastened them to him with hoops of steel by his subtle reference to his well known views and course re-

specting slavery, as a solid reason for his opposing any proposal that so much as squinted towards the political degradation of any class or body of white men. But he did so without giving just offense to those who might differ with him in opinion and conduct. There was a nice appreciation and observance of legal limits and rights of action and discussion and a perfect grace of reference and courtesy in consideration of the sensibilities of all directly and indirectly implicated.

But, while Mr. Lincoln satisfied the Germans completely on the major and immediate issue with which they were concerned, and his character and conduct as a public man gave them perfect confidence as to his sincerity and reliability, he did not go precipitately into denunciation of all dissentients. He frankly asserted his willingness to co-operate with those who held views contrary to his own on collateral and minor issues and he declared himself in language no man could misunderstand. He thereby cleared himself of adverse charges and dissipated all suspicions as to himself and at the same time extended and strengthened his own or his party's lines and made easy the way for alliances and affiliations with important contingents necessary if victory in the impending national campaign was to be achieved.

In the concluding sentence of his letter Mr. Lincoln says: "I have written this hastily." The statement is subject to various interpretations. It may mean precisely what it says, that he replied instantly to the interrogatories of the Committee of Germans who addressed without taking days for deliberations. Senator Grimes replied on the same day he received the letter from his fellow-townsmen of Burlington. But if it was intended to convey that he had written on the spur of the moment, without having given the subject much serious consideration, we may take it with several grains of salt. He was too familiar with the strange turns and twists of practical politics to be unmindful of the dangers of hasty, ill-considered expressions of opinion on moot matters, particularly when committed to paper. Letters may prove to be as troublesome as Banquo's ghost, appearing at every turn of the road in the most unexpected fashion.

For two months Mr. Lincoln had been reading or noticing accounts in his own state papers and in the press in the east of the intense and widespread agitation among the Germans produced by the proposal and adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts, and he was too alert and able a politician not to have been pondering upon the import and probable consequences of the agitation. When the Republican state central committees of Wisconsin and Iowa put forth their protests against the Amendment, when Senator Grimes' letter was published in his own home paper and generally throughout the Republican press of the state, both German and American, he became keenly alive to the seriousness of the menace the agitation was to the future success of the Republican party in the great contest rapidly approaching. The letter to Dr. Canisius represented the reflections of weeks, however quickly written. When a master craftsman pens a line, "hastily written", it does not mean heedlessly written.

Mr. Lincoln's letter was written, we must conclude, primarily and chiefly with the approaching national Republican convention in contemplation. At the time he wrote the national committee of the party had not decided on the place of meeting, and he could not of course have presumed very strongly upon the selection of Chicago as the place of meeting. Ardent Westerners were then concerting plans to bring the convention west of the mountains. The party leaders of Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati and Indianapolis were severally hopeful that they might secure the prize for their own city. Chicagoans were then no doubt conscious of local ambition and looking with covetous eyes. Was Mr. Lincoln conscious of any stirrings of personal ambition and hopes that the deliberations of the convention might mean much for him as he penned the letter to Dr. Canisius? There is not a little to make one so conclude.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 had made Mr. Lincoln a national figure. Immediately anti-slavery and Republican papers began to suggest him for consideration for the forthcoming national convention as a suitable candidate for

the second and first places. Two or three illustrations may suffice to warrant the assertion just made. On November 24 *The Marshall County Times,* published in east central Iowa, told the Republicans of Illinois "to hang out their banners. . . . . They may see their gallant Old Abe in the United States Senate and mayhap as its presiding officer." Three days later (Nov. 27) *The Eagle* published at Sioux City, Iowa, then the extreme northwest frontier town of the state, in dealing with "speculations", considers the suggestion of *The Chicago Democrat* that he be considered for the first place on the ticket. On December 2 *The Sioux City Register,* a Democratic paper, in discussing Greeley's scheme for doing away with national conventions, named Mr. Lincoln as one of the candidates for which Illinois would ask the electors to vote for President. This mention of the Republican leader of Springfield became more frequent during 1859. Of this fact we may certainly presume that Mr. Lincoln was aware, for his many friends and admirers would see to it that he was duly informed. In the national convention of his party in 1856 at Philadelphia he had received 110 votes for Vice President. He would not have been an ordinary mortal if he had not been stirred deeply by such expressions and suggestions and such events. His most intimate friends and associates, his closest observers, e. g., Messrs. Herndon, Trumbull and White, tell us that he was ambitious for political preferment and indulged in no pretentious modesty about the matter, although he was extraordinarily adroit in furthering his ambition and in securing the co-operation of friends without obvious effort so to do. We know that various admirers were pressing upon his attention, in the forepart of 1859, the advisability of actively seeking the presidential nomination. His various letters, in reply to such, modestly discounting or denying his fitness or chances, signify no substantial contradiction. It was not inconsistent with a keen ambition and lively hope that Fortune might smile with favor and his heart's desire might be realized.

In view of the tremendous public interest among Republicans and Democrats as to the probable consequences of the

violent agitation among the Germans over the conduct of Massachusetts and the great national distinction of Abraham Lincoln at the time we must conclude that in writing to Dr. Canisius he had not only the fate of the Republican party in the canvass in 1860 in mind, but especially his own probable consideration as a candidate of high potential for the greatest honors his party could confer. Any other conclusion would do violence to ordinary human nature as we know it. And this conclusion coincides precisely with the subsequent course of events, and makes clear transactions that otherwise would be inexplicable.

XIII.

Biographers of President Lincoln, and historians of the period immediately preceding the Civil War have, with one exception, exhibited little or no appreciation of the strategic significance of his letter to Dr. Canisius. Several do not notice it at all. Several refer to it or quote portions or all of the letter, some without comment and some with observations upon the liberality of the writer's views, but with no indication of a realization of the importance of the letter in relation to contemporary and subsequent events. Dr. J. G. Holland, alone, so far as the present writer can discover, discerned its vital significance and in his Life of President Lincoln, clearly pointed out the fact—but only so far as it related to the Germans.[16] Its importance with regard to the Nativistic elements was not appreciated. It is not uninteresting to note here that Dr. Holland was one of the associate editors of the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican* in 1859, whose editor-in-chief, Samuel Bowles, vigorously opposed the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment, and hence his appreciation of the part the letter to Dr. Canisius played in the campaign that ensued.

Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in their *Abraham Lincoln,* also quote at length from the letter to Dr. Canisius, but unlike Dr. Holland, saw in it apparently merely a statement of his "opposition to the waning fallacy of know-nothingism," the views

[16] Holland, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 197.

therein being interesting on philosophical grounds but of minor importance and in the grand aggregate of passing significance in the course of events; such at least seems to be the clear inference from their allusion to it.[17]

In the published Recollections of two distinguished Germans, Messrs. Gustav Koerner and Carl Schurz, the "Two Year" Amendment is of course referred to because both men were prominent actors in the drama of the period, and they dwell upon its importance, but the deep significance of the letter to Dr. Canisius is not indicated. Gov. Koerner merely mentions it in his *Memoirs,*[18] and Carl Schurz does not so much as refer to it either in his *Reminiscences* or in his *Abraham Lincoln.*

Such non-interest in the letter to Dr. Canisius by two such German notables, and contemporary actors in the drama dealt with, may seem to warrant suspicion of the validity of the conclusion herein insisted upon as to the strategic importance of Mr. Lincoln's letter. The point contended for cannot be easily established because it is a relative matter and the fact in contemplation can not be measured or weighed or estimated in any wise save from different angles and baselines, which may afford us views that give us correct perspectives.

Dr. Holland's judgment was expressed in 1865-66 while his recollections of personal experiences and observations of the actual preliminaries of Mr. Lincoln't first nomination were still vivid. Messrs. Koerner and Schurz wrote after nearly half a century had elapsed. They naturally enlarged upon the matters in which they were personally immediately interested: their own part in the drama. A petty fact, but one that may indicate somewhat of the effect of the flight of the years, is Mr. Schurz's assertion as to his celebrated speech in Faneuil Hall on April 18 of that year; "Perhaps it did contribute," he says, "a little to the defeat of the 'Two Year' Amendment."[19] Within three weeks of the date of his speech the "odious Amendment" was carried at the polls!

[17] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln:* A History, Vol. II—181.

[18] Koerner Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 181.

[19] Schurz, *Reminiscences.* Vol. II, p. 126.

The facts herein set out at such length, it is submitted, fully justify the present writer's contention that the letter to Dr. Canisius was a fact of the highest strategic importance and was recognized as such at the time. The judgments of historians *ex post facto*, like the recollections of actors long distant from the days and scenes of events related, are as likely as not to deal with the spectacular facts that loom large in popular memory, rather than with the minutia that constitutes the mass of reality and in the large controls the course of things. Contemporary opinion, when it can be clearly discerned and assembled and displayed, is a more accurate and substantial judgment than the solemn pronouncements of learned "research" historians. The pithy letter of Dr. Canisius himself to the editor of *The Daily State Journal* communicating Mr. Lincoln's reply, indicates very clearly how highly he esteemed the letter. He was manifestly alive to the nation-wide interest in any opinion Mr. Lincoln would express and he was more than pleased, he was delighted, to secure the explicit declaration from his fellow townsman. The extensive circulation given the letter in the German and American press signalizes it, and the contemptuous reference of *The Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque, quoted at length in the first page of this study, to "the whole brood of Republican leaders from Lincoln to Wentworth," and their "disclaimers" strongly suggest the conclusion here urged.

The most interesting parcel of evidence as to the significance of the letter to Dr. Canisius is afforded us in a letter written nearly two months later to Mr. Schuyler Colfax, then one of the foremost Republican leaders of Indiana and of Congress. It portrays vividly the troublesome perplexities and the ticklish questions that were then harassing the practical party leaders. It should further be realized that the writer was then one of the keenest, shrewdest, most active and farseeing practical politicians in the nation. His letter is given entire:

Springfield, Ill., July 6, 1859.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax:

My Dear Sir:—I much regret not seeing you while you were here among us. Before learning that you were to be at

Jacksonville on the 4th, I had given my word to be at another place. Besides a strong desire to make your personal acquaintance, I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. / My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, and especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, to make obedience to the fugitive slave law punishable as a crime; in Ohio, to repeal the fugitive slave law; and squatter sovereignty, in Kansas. In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up a dozen national conventions, if it gets into them, and what gets very rife outside of conventions is very likely to find its way into them. What is desirable, if possible, is that in every local convocation of Republicans a point should be made to avoid everything which will disturb Republicans elsewhere. Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses, and then they could not have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio should forbear tilting against the fugitive slave law in such a way as to utterly overwhelm us in Illinois with the charge of enmity to the Constitution itself. Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "Squatter Sovereignty," ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national problem, and must be attended to by the nation. In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses; and at least say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree. / I write this for your eye only; hoping, however, if you see danger as I think I do, you will do what you can to avert it. Could not suggestions be made to leading men in the State and Congressional conventions, and so avoid, to some extent at least, these apples of discord?

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Manifestly with such clear foresight and such strong convictions and sense of caution it must have been an urgent belief that a serious danger threatened the Republican party in 1860 that could have compelled Mr. Colfax's correspondent to pen the letter to Dr. Canisius' committee on May 17. Indeed, it must have been a state of mind approximating the "panic" contemptuously asserted by Mr. J. B. Dorr of Dubuque.

Furthermore, Mr. Colfax's correspondent at Springfield was obviously gravely concerned lest the forthcoming national convention "blow up" with the heat engendered by local

issues and there are many reasons to suspect that he was not immediately concerned with local interests or nearby constituencies. Senator Trumbull was not seriously urged for nomination for either the Vice-presidency or the Presidency. Mr. Lincoln was being urged then in various parts of the country and he was aware of the fact. His injunction to maintain strict secrecy as to his writing is highly suggestive that his own possible personal fortunes were not remote considerations in his mind. But whether he was specifically conscious of such a possible personal interest in the ingathering of the forces, his letter to Mr. Colfax was pre-eminently prophetic and accurately described the actual developments in the preliminaries and proceedings of the Chicago convention.

XIII.

In the way of a summary, the following general assertions seem to be warranted:

The submission of a proposed amendment to the constitution of Massachusetts by the General Court of that Commonwealth denying the electoral franchise to foreign-born citizens until they could certify a residence of two years after naturalization aroused Germans to violent indignation and protest throughout the nation and particularly in the states of the Northwest in the forepart of 1859.

Republican editors and spokesmen instantly very generally perceived that the discontent of the Germans and their threatened revolt from the Republican party because of the proposed Amendment in Massachusetts constituted a serious menace to their party in the approaching national presidential canvass of 1860.

The Germans of eastern Iowa under the leadership of Dr. George Hillgaertner and John Bittmann of Dubuque, Hans Reimer Clausen, Theodore Guelich and Theodore Olshausen of Davenport, seem to have been the first to have conceived the plan and to have decided upon concerted aggressive action to compel the Republican leaders to declare themselves openly with respect to their attitude towards the "Two Year" Amendment.

The Germans of Illinois did not awaken to the seriousness of the act submitted in Massachusetts as soon as did the Germans of Iowa. Upon its adoption on May 9, they became aroused and determined upon aggressive measures similar to those pursued in Iowa. Under the leadership of George Schneider of Chicago, Theodore Pfeiffer of Peoria and Dr. Canisius of Springfield they addressed interrogatories to all of the responsible Republican leaders of Illinois identical, or similar in content, with those addressed to the Congressional delegation of Iowa. The responses given in Illinois followed in the large the lines of the reply sent the Germans of Iowa by the junior national Senator of Iowa, James W. Grimes.

All of the replies addressed to the Germans of Illinois were written upon the assumption, either frankly asserted, or by clear implication conceded, that the votes of the German Republicans were essential to the success of the national party in the approaching presidential canvass in 1860 and that German Republicans were among the staunchest anti-slavery forces within the party.

Abraham Lincoln's reply to Dr. Theodore Canisius and confreres of Springfield was the only one of all those published which exhibited an appreciation of the correlative importance of the Nativistic elements, especially the fanatical and factional Americans and decadent Know-Nothings who counted for more in the Republican party and in the Anti-slavery forces than they did in the Democratic party.

The two facts just named—the importance of the German vote and the equal importance of the Nativistic votes—constituted the grand strategic facts that determined the course of events. Mr. Lincoln clearly discerned them and future developments demonstrated his superior foresight and preeminent prudence. These two major facts compelled the compromise in the national convention which resulted in a denunciation of the "Two Year" Amendment in the national platform adopted at Chicago and in the nomination of the man who sent one of the replies to Dr. Canisius. The array of facts which justifies this assertion the present writer hopes sometime to display.

THE GERMAN THEATER IN NEW YORK CITY.

With Special Consideration of the Years 1878-1914.

By Edwin Hermann Zeydel, A. M., Cornell University.

Introduction.

The Period Before 1878.

The subject of the present study, the German theater in New York City, has hitherto been almost completely neglected. The few articles that do treat the matter,[1] written, as they are, in a semi-popular style, must be termed essentially unscientific.[2] It therefore seemed that a careful examination of the sources themselves, and a sympathetic study and interpretation of facts thus acquired would bear valuable results. With only limited time at his disposal, however, the writer deemed it advisable to concentrate his more serious efforts on the period between 1878 and the present time. The reason for choosing the year 1878 as a particular point of departure will appear presently.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a mere annalistic account of German theatrical activity in New York. Such a work, valuable as it might be for purposes of reference, would constitute a wearisome and withal a thankless task.

[1] Among these may be mentioned:—

1) An anonymous article, "Das deutsche Theater in Amerika" in "Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika", herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalbundes, Phila., 1909, which devotes several pages to New York.

2) "Das deutsche Theater in New York", by Albert Pulvermacher in New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, Apr. 24, 1910.

3) An article by Wilhelm Müller in a volume entitled, "Amerika", and edited by A. Tenner, N. Y. 1884.

[2] In English histories of the New York stage the subject is either entirely ignored, or most unfairly treated. A notable exception is "The Stage in America, 1897—1900", by Norman Hapgood.

The present aim will rather be to examine the influence of the German Theater on the American stage, to reveal the contrast between German and American theatrical conditions, and to describe the function of the German theater as an educational force. Nevertheless annals, not too detailed to be sure, will be given of the work of the theater. It has been thought best to present a short survey of each separate season, and in that way to offer an intelligent enumeration of the more important performances.

The first attempts to perform in New York German dramas in the original language may be traced back to 1840.[3] But the performances in these early years were sporadic, and not until Eduard Hamann, in 1853, founded the St. Charles Theater on the Bowery did New York have a permanent German theater with a resident professional stock company.[4]

A larger and more comfortable home could soon be furnished for this company in the "Stadt-Theater," where for ten years Otto Hoym, manager and actor, and his wife (nee Elise Hehl), were the leading spirits.

By 1864 it was found necessary to supply still more spacious quarters, namely in the "Neues Stadttheater" at 45-47 Bowery. This theater, which seated almost 3000, was probably the largest in the city at that time. That this still left opportunity for a second undertaking becomes evident from the fact that not long after an actor, Eduard Härting, converted Woods' Theater on Broadway into a German playhouse. When, accordingly, Bogumil Dawison, the greatest

[3] It is possible but not probable that any performances took place before that date. What may have been the first German performance in New York took place on Jan. 6, 1840, at 83 Anthony Street. The plays performed on this occasion by a "Deutscher dramatischer Verein", were, Theodor Körner's, "Hedwig die Banditenbraut", and Kotzebue's, "Der grade Weg der beste". On Apr. 29th of the same year there was performed in the original by the same "Verein", Schiller's "Räuber". This performance took place in the Franklin Theater at Chatham Sq.

[4] A few years later several German theatres, e. g. the "Eustachis Volkstheater" were opened, but achieved nothing.

German actor of his day, was forced from home in 1866 by war troubles and came to New York, he received offers from two managers. The story goes that he accepted an offer from Hoym of the "Neues Stadttheater" for $50,000, the lease extending over 50 evenings. His Othello,[5] his Shylock, his Hamlet, his Wallenstein and his Franz Moor are remembered as masterly portrayals of character—among the best ever seen in this country. The success of Dawison prompted other distinguished German actors, as well as actresses, to agree to a limited number of performances here.

Among these may be mentioned Friedrich Haase, whose first visit to America dates back to 1869. A born aristocrat, whose every gesture betrayed the brilliant courtier, he won marked success in such plays as Gutzkow's "Der Königsleutnant" and Kotzebue's "Die beiden Klingsberg." His work in more ambitious rôles, too, such as Shylock and Hamlet, was notable.

Notwithstanding the success of Friedrich Haase and of other "Gäste" such as Magda Irschick and Hermann Hendrichs the German theater in New York experienced a rapid decline after Hoym's retirement in 1867. The man whose mission it was to better these conditions, to establish a German theater on a sounder basis than had hitherto been the case, was *Adolf Neuendorff*. His name occupies a high and honorable position in the list of German American theatrical men. Born in Hamburg in 1843, he came to this country as a boy. He devoted himself very diligently to the study of music, secured a position in Hoym's orchestra, and by dint of hard work was soon appointed musical director in the Neues Stadttheater.[6]

[5] This rôle he played later to Booth's Iago in the Winter Garden, Broadway & Bond Street.

[6] Under his leadership Wagner's "Lohengrin" was produced there in German for the first time in America, Apr. 3, 1871. In 1872, Neuendorff conducted "Der fliegende Holländer" and "Die Walküre" in the Academy of Music. In the sixties Karl Anschütz had met with some success with his German opera company in New York. Cf. F. L. Ritter, "Music in America."

In 1872 Neuendorff entered upon a new undertaking. By opening the old Tammany Hall on October 10th of that year as the Germania Theater, he revived the German theater of New York from its lethargic state. His fundamental principle of management was new and therefore deserves consideration. Whereas, previous managers had attempted to support a first-class star ("Gast") by an insufferably poor stock company, Neuendorff planned to concentrate his entire efforts upon well-rounded and capable ensemble work. This plan he carried out to the best of his ability. Among the most important actors that he imported were Franz Kierschner,[7] Leon Wachsner,[8] and, above all, Heinrich Conried. Among Neuendorff's actresses the names Schmitz, Bensberg and Cottrelly deserve mention.

CHAPTER I.

The Rise and Fall of Two German Theaters.

Our consideration has now reached the point at which a more detailed study is to begin. At the opening of the season 1878-1879, the seventh in the Germania Theater, Neuendorff introduced in this country *Heinrich Conried,* a new actor, who was to serve at the same time as first stage manager ("erster Regisseur"). Born in 1855, a son of Joseph Cohn, at Bielitz in Austrian Silesia, Conried had a meteoric career. From the Vienna "Burgtheater," where he had first appeared at the age of nineteen, he went to Berlin to accept a position in the "National Theater." In 1876 he was called to the "Leipziger Stadttheater" as leading player in character rôles ("erster Charakterspieler"), and next we find him in Bremen, where he was appointed manager in the local "Stadttheater." There Neuendorff saw him and arranged for his trip to America.

[7] Mr. Kierschner, now an octogenarian, still resides in New York.

[8] Mr. Wachsner later became director of the German theater in Milwaukee. Vid. J. C. Andressohn, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeer deutschen Bühnenwesens" in German-American Annals, Vol. X, Nos. 1—4 of new series.

The importance and significance of Conried's connection with the German theater in New York can hardly be overemphasized. The deep, healthy influence of his work manifested itself not only in the narrower sphere in which he was engaged, but spread over the entire field of the American stage. As years went on his influence constantly grew wider and more profound. Its nature and extent will be examined in the following pages.

On September 19, 1878, two days after the opening of Neuendorff's theater, Conried appeared as leading man in Betty Paoli's one-act drama, "Gringoire." He immediately aroused favorable criticism. "Er hat für sein ferneres Leisten die besten Hoffnungen rege gemacht," we read in a press comment.[9] Not long after he appeared as Franz Moor,[10] probably his best rôle, and created a veritable sensation. A still more marked success was scored by Conried at the first performance of L'Arronge's then new comedy, "Dr. Klaus." The play was so popular that it enjoyed in this one season the then unprecedented number of thirty-four performances. Conried appeared quite frequently thereafter, always with success, notably as Mortimer in Schiller's "Maria Stuart," and as Just in Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm."

It may be interesting to give a statistical[11] account of the season which we are at present considering. The details are as follows:

Extent of Season:—Sept. 17, 1878, to April 30, 1879.

Number of Performances:—223—of these, 195, including three matinees, were given in the Germania Theater, five in other New York theaters, ten in Brooklyn, seventeen in Newark and six in Hoboken.

[9] The "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," Sept. 20, 1878. Cf. also "Belletristisches Journal."

[10] He received twenty curtain calls at the first performance. The critics agreed in calling his the best Franz Moor seen in America since Dawison's day.

[11] Such accounts have been prepared for each season, but for lack of space only occasional use can be made of the material in the following pages.

Number of Different Plays:—Fifty-two, of which ten were of one act, forty-two of more than one act, and of which twenty were performed for the first time in America.

Class of Plays:—"Tragödie," 5; "Schauspiel," 5; "Lustspiel" and "Schwank," 26; "Volksstück" and "Posse," 13; "Lebensbild," 1; "Operette," 2.

Performances of Classics:—Lessing, 2 evenings in one play ("Minna von Barnhelm"); Schiller, 9 evenings in two plays ("Die Räuber" and "Maria Stuart"); Gutzkow, 1 evening in one play ("Zopf und Schwert); Shakespeare, 1 evening in one play ("Othello").

Already a month before the season came to an end the ambitious young Conried announced his plans for the following year. He wished to control a German theater of his own, and with this end in view he opened negotiations with the owners of the Fifth Avenue Theatre. His plan, as described by himself in a circular letter sent to the press was as follows:

"Meiner festen unerschütterlichen Überzeugung nach kann für jetzt ein erstes deutsches Theater, wie ich es im Auge habe, nur dann bestehen, wenn von vorne herein die Hauptkosten gedeckt sind und selbst der ungünstigste Geschäftsgang ein Deficit ausschliesst; dies ist zu erreichen durch die Eröffnung eines Abonnements, wie es alle grösseren Stadttheater Deutschlands, ja selbst die Hoftheater——höchst erfolgreich eingeführt haben." He promises further, "nur Schauspieler bester Qualität zu engagieren, neue Stücke nur nach den sorgfältigsten Proben herauszubringen, für eine Ausstattung Sorge zu tragen, die sich mit den besten englisch-amerikanischen Bühnen messen kann."

Had Conried's hopes been realized there would have been three German theaters in New York during the season of 1879-1880. But since his plans miscarried, much to the hilarity of the older critics who had scoffed at the idea, there were only two. The newcomers were *William Kramer, Mathilde Cottrelly* and *Gustav Amberg*. In the previous season the last mentioned had given several very successful performances in Terrace Garden. Kramer, the owner of a theater and the

adjoining Atlantic Garden on the Bowery, made arrangements with Conried for a full season in 1879-1880 in Kramer's theater, which was to be known as the Thalia Theater. Mathilde Cottrelly, an actress imported by Neuendorff in 1875, was the third partner.

This was the first time in the history of the New York Theater that two first-class German playhouses were operated regularly and systematically throughout the entire season. The experiment was a daring one on the part of the new directors, for it was generally regarded as an axiom that even in those years during which immigration from Germany was annually increasing,[12] New York could not support two German theaters. But the initiative of the new-comers, their succcess in securing the services of Conried as "Regisseur" and of a majority of the best Germania talent, and their efforts to make the new Thalia Theater essentially a "Volksbühne," made of the seemingly impossible an actuality.

The success of the Thalia Theater was immediate. Altho the theater was a very large one,[13] it was quite frequently crowded to the doors. The particular success which the first season brought out, Genée's comic opera, "Der Seekadet," altho of no dramatic significance, assured a good financial standing. The operetta in question was produced over one hundred times. More substantial successes from a literary and dramatic standpoint were the appearance of Conried in Anzengruber's "Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," in Schiller's "Die Räuber," and "Kabale und Liebe," and in Kleist's "Kätchen von Heilbronn," and the second visit of the distin-

[12] German immigration was largest between the years 1880 and 1885. The year 1882, with 250,630, established the record in this respect. Until 1885 large immigrations continued. After this a period of fluctuation set in, which extended until 1893. From then on the number steadily declined. Vid. A. B. Faust, "The German Element in the United States," Vol. 1, page 586.

[13] Still standing on the Bowery near Canal St. It seats considerably over 2,000.

guished actress Magda Irschick.[14] In the meanwhile the rival theater, Neuendorff's Germania, notwithstanding its seniority, was suffering visibly under the keen competition.[15] Instead of striking out a new path and avoiding the well-defined course of the Thalia Theater, the "Volksbühne," Neuendorff made the mistake of accentuating the rivalry. When he heard that Amberg was rehearsing a new farce by Schönthan, "Sodom und Gomorrha," he immediately took up the same play and purposely produced it one day before Amberg did. When he realized the popularity and success of "Der Seekadet" in the Thalia Theater he quickly produced the same operetta under the title of "Der Marinekadett," and only discontinued it when legal proceedings forced him to do so. It was fortunate for him that the lack of a good "Heldendarsteller" in the Thalia prompted Magda Irschick to change her scene of activity to his Germania. Her continued success there[16] helped considerably to save Neuendorff from ruin at that time.

At the end of the season (1879-1880), late in April, we read in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung." "Eine der wertvollsten Schauspielkräfte, welche das Thalia-Theater besass scheidet schon in dieser Woche aus, Herr Conried, der Charakterspieler und Schauspielregisseur. Er verlässt Amerika am 8. Mai und wird am 1. Mai sein Abschiedsbenefiz nehmen. ——Herr Conried verabschiedet sich mit derselben Rolle (Gringoire), mit welcher er in voriger Saison am Germaniatheater debutierte. Neben seinen immer tüchtigen, oft rühmenswerten Leistungen als Regisseur hat er eine Reihe persönlicher Erfolge als Darsteller aufzuweisen, die manches Bedauern ob seiner definitiven Rückkehr nach Europa erregen

[14] Among other plays she appeared in "Maria Stuart", "Die Jungfrau von Orleans", Mosenthal's "Deborah", and Grillparzer's "Medea".

[15] After a month of very poor attendance Neuendorff was forced to reduce the price of seats in his comparatively small house to conform with prices in the much larger Thalia Theater.

[16] Among other plays she appeared in Geibel's "Brunhild", Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris", Shakespeare's "Viel Lärm um Nichts", and Laube's "Graf Essex".

werden." Conried actually did return to Europe, but only for the summer months. In September, 1880, he was back for tours of Cincinnati and Buffalo.[17]

In the new season (1880-1881) the rival theaters were able to continue, both in excellent financial condition. The events of this second year of rivalry, moreover, brought additional and more conclusive proof that there was room for two German theatres in New York. Not general excellence of ensemble work, however, was the cause of the success. Both theatres had invited notable stars, the Germania Karl Sontag, the Thalia Marie Geistinger. Sontag was especially successful in Freytag's "Journalisten," Gutzkow's "Königsleutnant," Shakespeare's "Die bezähmte Widerspenstige," Molière's "Tartuffe" and Wilbrandt's "Tochter des Herrn Fabricius." Marie Geistinger, on the other hand, showed her versatility, for she appeared not only in comic opera (in "Boccaccio" and "Fledermaus"), but also in farce comedy, "Volksstück" ("Pfarrer von Kirchfeld"), and serious drama (e. g. Dumas' "Cameliendame").

All previous records for attendancce were probably broken on April 16, 1881, when four performances of German plays were given in New York. In the Thalia Theater matinee and evening performances were offered, and in the Germania as well as in the Academy of Music there were evening performances. When we consider that the Thalia Theater and the Academy of Music were among the largest theaters in the country, and that every seat was sold out for the entire four performances, we acquire a just appreciation of the popularity of the German theatres at the time.

Neuendorff had reason to believe that his theater would be too small for his ambitious plans. Consequently he leased for next season (1881-2) one of the largest and most handsome playhouses in the city—Wallack's theater on Broadway, corner

[17] Upon his return from these tours he opened a very successful dramatic school in New York City. The school was supervised by himself personally. His business card read: "Deklamations- und dramatischen Unterricht erteilt — Heinrich Conried. Talentvollen Unbemittelten unentgeltlich."

of Thirteenth Street. To make the occasion more impressive the season was to be graced by the presence of Friedrich Haase, who was still remembered for his brilliant visit in 1869. When, accordingly, the Neues Germania Theater was opened on September 15, 1881, with a "Festspiel," by William Müller of Cincinnati, and at about the same time the Thalia Theater resumed activities with Heinrich Conried again as "artistischer Leiter," the critics and the general public were in a highly expectant mood.

As usual, the star system prevailed almost exclusively thruout the season 1881-1882. The earliest "Gast" in the Germania was Haase, as noted above. His second visit to the United States was a distinct disappointment and carried in its wake most disastrous results, which will be examined below. He offered nothing new, for the old-fashioned "Narciss," "Die beiden Klingsberg," "Lorbeerbaum und Bettelstab" and other plays of a like character (Hamlet was the only notable exception) were already very familiar in New York. He was followed by Franziska Ellmenreich, who appeared alternately in Dumas or Scribe comedies, and in classics.[18] She was soon joined by Karl Sontag, and there ensued a very successful "Doppelgastspiel." In the same season Marie Geistinger continued to display her versatility at the Thalia Theater. Her most popular operettas, 'Der Seekadet," "Die schöne Galathee," besides those mentioned above, her musical comedies, "Drei Paar Schuhe," "Die Näherin," and her favorite tragedies, "Die Cameliendame" and "Arria und Messalina," were produced ad infinitum. Indeed, her popularity among Germans in New York was probably eclipsed by no one in the entire history of the stage. Not content with her success, however, the management of the Thalia Theater introduced in the same season two other actresses of note, Jenny Stubel in Planquette's "Die Glocken von Corneville" and Kaethi Schratt in popular comedies. So great was the success of these actresses and of their entertaining, but insignificant rep-

[18] She appeared to advantage in "Die bezähmte Widerspenstige", "Emilia Galotti", "Maria Stuart", "Kätchen von Heilbronn" and Wilhelmine Hillern's "Geyer Wally".

ertory that very little time was left for more serious plays. It was only with great difficulty that Conried could persuade his superiors to permit several performances of "Die Räuber," "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Uriel Acosta."

The season which followed (1882-3) was one of the most significant. Karl Hermann had taken the place of Amberg in the Thalia Theater,[19] and the latter, entering upon a private undertaking, organized an operatic troupe, which appeared in the Germania Theater with Marie Geistinger as leading star. She was engaged in her third "Gastspiel," apparently gaining as much success as ever. Neuendorff, however, was determined not to neglect serious drama altogether, and he assembled a capable company of actors, who produced in rapid succession "Hamlet," "Uriel Acosta," "Die Räuber," the Wallenstein trilogy "Don Carlos," "Wilhelm Tell," "Götz von Berlichingen," "Egmont," "Faust," and "Emilia Galotti.' (Alexander Kauffmann, a rather obscure "Gast," took part in many of these performances. Franziska Ellmenreich, too, returned for a short stay.) Such a wealth of classical performances had not been seen in New York for many years. The plays were all greeted most cordially. But Neuendorff's efforts, laudable as they were, were doomed to failure. On the 24th of March, 1883, pressed on all sides by financial difficulties, he was compelled to close his theater forever. It was an impressive event when on the fateful evening after the performance, he himself, in a voice shaken by emotion, read a statement to the large audience. He admitted frankly that he had failed of his purpose to establish in New York a permanent German theater of high standards. Referring to this fact, he said: "Das ist hart, zumal wenn man, wie ich mit Stolz von mir behaupten kann, dem Dollar nie den Vorzug vor der Kunst gegeben hat. Vielleicht liegt eben darin, dass ich nicht erst an den Dollar und dann an die Kunst gedacht habe, der Grund zur heutigen Kalamität."

[19] Mathilde Cottrelly had resigned in 1881. Satisfied with the fortune that she had amassed and overshadowed by the popularity of Marie Geistinger, she retired. She later appeared on the English stage.

Let us consider for a moment the possible reasons for this failure. It is certain that the causes are not to be found exclusively in the last season. They date further back and lie deeper than would first appear. Neuendorff had undoubtedly made a serious mistake when he leased Wallack's theater, which was surely too large for his purposes. Already supplied with the spacious Thalia Theater, the German public could not support a second large playhouse. A second evident cause was the failure of Friedrich Haase's visit in 1881-2. His arrogance rendered him deaf to Neuendorff's good advice concerning his repertory, and he insisted on presenting old plays that had lost their popular appeal many years ago. Extravagant demands on the part of Haase[20] tended to make matters worse. Chagrined by his utter failure, he wrote a number of letters after his return to Germany, in which he attacked conditions in this country. He attributed to American audiences an utter lack of artistic sense and of appreciation for true art. He claimed, moreover, that only the lightest and most frivolous forms of entertainment could hope for success here, and that the name of Marie Geistinger echoed thru the country in tones that silenced the roar of Niagara.

But there is a third and more profound reason for Neuendorff's downfall. It is an evil which we shall meet again and which caused trouble whenever it appeared—the so-called star system. Almost completely outrooted in Germany by the excellent reform work of the Duke of Meiningen and his actors, especially in the seventies and eighties of the previous century, the system still maintains a powerful foothold thruout this country. The results, discouraging as they are, arouse the comment of almost every notable critic of the American stage.[21] It must be admitted that the German theater in New

[20] He received 40% of the net profits during his stay.

[21] Cf. Allen Davenport "Stage Affairs in America Today". Norman Hapgood, "Stage in America 1897—1900", Ludwig Fulda, "Amerikanische Eindrücke", pp. 141—143.

Cf. also on this subject A. B. Faust, "The German Element". Vol. 2, pp. 327—338.

York was affected by prevalent conditions and misled in the same way. This fact, altho not sufficiently recognized, is essential in determining results. As one critic said a few years later (in the "Staats-Zeitung" at the end of the season 1890-1) with great justice, the constant presence of stars inculcated in the people a "Gastspielerkultus" which brought about the unhappy circumstance that the star was considered more important than the play itself. The same critic continues: "Die Stars sind und bleiben der Verderb jedes Theaters, sie demoralisieren das Publikum, sie nehmen demselben den Glauben an das reguläre Personal." The remedy for the evil was, of course, a careful elimination of all stars, the substitution of an able resident company, and the preparation of a careful repertoire.

Since, however, this fundamental shortcoming never occurred to the managers of the eighties, they continued to import from time to time the most noted actors of Germany. By doing so they undoubtedly furnished many a treat to their fastidious audiences, but they unwittingly wrought their own destruction thereby. In the very season of the Neuendorff failure Karl Hermann had in the Thalia Theater the excellent comedienne Josephine Gallmeyer, the inimitable pair of comedians Wilhelm Knaak and Franz Tewele, and finally Ludwig Barnay, a tragedian who takes rank with the greatest actors in history.[22]

Hermann's experience was identical with that of Neuendorff. The end of the season brought with it failure, and for the next five years the Thalia Theater was in the hands of Gustav Amberg. Barnay's words of farewell, uttered early in May, 1883, "Ich stehe am Grabe von zwei deutschen Theatern," were only too true.

[22] Especially notable in this, Barnay's first visit to America, were his Graf Essex, Wallenstein, Coriolan, Kean and Marc Antonius, and finally his appearance together with Conried in "Clavigo" and "Die Räuber".

CHAPTER II.

1883-1888—Amberg in the Thalia Theater—Other Attempts.

During the next several seasons there was only one German theatre in New York—the Thalia Theater. There were occasional German performances, to be sure, or even longer sessions in other theatres thruout the city,[23] as for example, Conried's short season in the fall of 1884 in Niblo's Garden, where he presented the spectacle ("Ausstattungsstück") "Die sieben Raben."

The first season during which the Thalia Theater held the field alone (1883-4) was probably the poorest in the history of the theater, altho besides Marie Geistinger, two noted tragedians, Magda Irschick, who appeared in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," "Kabale und Liebe" and Grillparzer's "Medea," and Antonie Janisch were present. It was a period of depression of interest on the part of the public and inefficiency on the part of the actors, altho the latter half of the season brought better results in both respects. The theater, conscious of the fact that the season did not promise success, did not open until October 1. (This date has in recent years become the usual one for the opening of the German theater in New York, but during the eighties it was the custom to begin the season as early as the middle of September.) The late opening proved to be a wise move. The "Staats-Zeitung" in its review in May, 1884, speaks of the season as "die trüben Monate die als Saison 1883-4 in der Geschichte des deutschen Theaters mit der allerschwärzesten Tinte verzeichnet werden sollten." Fortunately no future season vied with this one in that respect. It is very likely that the brilliant year that preceded had surfeited the receptive powers of the theatre-going public and had brought about a reaction.

[23] The performances given by New York companies at intervals in Brooklyn and the two complete seasons there, 1884-5, under L. Stefano and 1885-6 under Minnie Raaber and G. L. Böhm are not considered here.

But it was soon made evident that the state of affairs would be altered, for the the autumn of 1884 saw many improvements. The notable event of 1884-5 was the first appearance in this country in March, 1885, of Adolf Sonnenthal, whose success is only to be compared with that of Dawison's and Barnay's. He came under the management of Conried. "Vater und Sohn," "Der Marquis von Villemer" and "Fromont jun. und Risler sen." were his new offerings. The English critics, however could not appreciate Sonnenthal during his first visit. Ignorance of German theatrical conditions probably accounts for it. An amusing instance of this is furnished in the "New York Tribune" when it reported before Sonnenthal's arrival that "the well-known Austrian actress, Mme. Sonnenthal is coming." The remainder of the season, as far as the Thalia Theater is concerned, was an uneventful, uninteresting period. Operetta, musical comedy and farce constituted by far the greater part of the entertainment. Of interest quite apart from this, however, is the fact that on January 5, 1885, Neuendorff opened a new theater situated on Third avenue between Thirtieth and Thirty-first Streets and called Apollo Theater. That he had learned a valuable lesson by his earlier experiences was proved by his avowed purpose in founding his new theater. He intended, namely, to lay especial emphasis upon more serious drama, without neglecting the lighter genres, and to banish most mercilessly the star system. For his purpose he engaged an excellent company, headed by Magda Irschick. During the first few weeks he planned to present "Der Fechter von Ravenna," "Gustav Wasa," "Die Braut von Messina," "Die Karolinger," and other plays of a like caliber. But two weeks had not passed, and the undertaking had hardly gotten under way when Neuendorff once more saw his ideal shattered. With this second failure, fully as tragic as the first, there practically sank into oblivion one of the most deserving characters in the history of the German-American stage.

During the season which was just considered (1884-5), Manager Amberg made a notable attempt, especially during the first few weeks, to introduce more serious drama. He

was unsuccessful; the public, under the spell of Marie Geistinger, clamored for musical comedy and farce. Consequently Amberg, who was determined not to sacrifice good attendance, acceded to the general desire.[24] There could be no doubt that the Germans of New York had unconsciously allowed their artistic taste to be spoiled. If we are to single out any one person who is to bear the blame it must be Marie Geistinger. Her wonderfully versatile talents,[25] particularly her remarkable ability in operetta, had brought this about. Haase in his blind rage had hit upon the truth.

Guided by these principles, Amberg engaged for 1885-6 only mediocre talent, with which he could accomplish but little. Attendance, too, suffered, due partly to that fact, and partly to business depression. Consequently, Amberg committed a blunder when he invited Friedrich Mitterwurzer as star for the season. The early appearance of the latter in the Star Theater and his tour in the West were eminently successful. Compelled later, however, to act with Amberg's troupe, he failed. The actors of the theater were unable to "play up to him," and the result was a series of uneven, slovenly performances. Nonetheless he displayed his remarkable versatility, for he alternated the most serious part, such as Richard III, Franz Moor, Hamlet and Faust with comedy rôles, as Conrad Bolz, or even farce rôles in Moser's "Schwänke." Taking this season as a whole, the most successful plays were Schönthan's farce, "Der Raub der Sabinerinnen" (three full weeks), and the same author's "Frau Dir. Striese" (thirteen performances.) Dumas held the stage four evenings ("Kean"), Zola three ("Der Totschläger"), Brachvogel three ("Narciss"), Schiller two ("Räuber"), Shakespeare two (Richard III" and "Hamlet"), Goethe two ("Faust"), Gutzkow two ("Urbild des Tartuffe"

[24] Of circa 250 performances in this season 75 were "Schauspiele" and "Lustspiele", 21 "Schwänke" and "Possen", and all the rest musical plays.

[25] Her versatility, which permitted her to appear one evening in Dumas' "Cameliendame" or Wilbrandt's "Arria und Messalina" and the next in farce or operetta has been noted above p. ——.

and "Königsleutnant"), Kleist one ("Kätchen v. Heilbronn") and Freytag one ("Die Journalisten").

To relieve the monotony Amberg imported no tragedian in 1886-7. Instead he arranged for a visit of Emil Thomas, one of Germany's best comedians, and his wife, Betty Damhoffer-Thomas. There resulted many performances of farces, the effect of which was rather tiresome in a protracted visit. The rest of the season was taken up almost exclusively with operettas and comic operas. It remains to mention here a soubrette, Marguerite Fish, who first appeared in the Thalia Theater in December, 1886. She was born in New York of American parentage, learned German in Berlin and Vienna, and entered upon a stage career there. Her case is probably unique.

Amberg's last season at the Thalia Theater (1887-8) was also his best. His first big drawing card, after the operatic tenor Boetel and the comedian August Junkermann had left, was Ernest Possart, who appeared chiefly in classics.. His wide repertoire included, besides Shakespearean roles and most of the German classics, leading parts in Lindner's "Bluthochzeit," Wilbrandt's "Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius," Björnson's "Fallissement," Byron's "Manfred" and Ibsen's "Stützen der Gesellschaft." During the same time Conried conducted another short but very successful season in the Star Theater with the actress Hedwig Niemann-Raabe. Encouraged thereby, he arranged with Barnay for a short "Gastspiel" to take place in March, 1888, in the Academy of Music. Unfortunately a terrible blizzard swept over the country at that time. Barnay naturally failed, and Conried was threatened with most serious financial losses. He was already resigning himself to the inevitable when Amberg came to the rescue. The latter agreed to engage Barnay and to assume all responsibility. Hereupon there ensued a "Gastspiel" which in brilliance was never equalled in this country, and has probably never been exceeded in Germany. To Barnay's Hamlet, Uriel Acosta, Karl Moor, Wallenstein, Tell and Bolz, Possart played Polonius, De Sylva, Franz Moor, Butler, Gessler and Schmock respectively. These notable events were indeed a fitting end to Amberg's five seasons in the Thalia Theater.

Chapter III.

1888-1893—The Earliest Period of the Amberg Theater (Irving Place Theater).

Late in the year 1886 Hugo Wesendonck, one of the most prominent patrons of the German theater, founded a "Deutsche Theater-Gesellschaft," the object of which was to raise subscriptions for the purpose of founding and supporting a German theater "in the upper part of New York City." This society rapidly gained membership, and set itself to the difficult atsk of raising the requisite funds. Not long after Heinrich Conried came to the fore with a similar plan, the details of which correspond with his project of 1879.[26] His object was "to establish a first-class German theater." He felt that in order to carry this out successfully, it was necessary to anticipate difficulties of every character. With this end in view he set out to raise $45,000 by subscription. While the process of collection was making but slow progress in each case, Gustav Amberg suddenly announced on January 23, 1887, that he had made all arrangements to establish a new German theater. As a site he had chosen the old Irving Hall on Irving Place and 15th Street. Consequently there was nothing left for the "Gesellschaft" and for Conried to do but to suspend activities and await developments.

The preparations, however, for the opening of the new theater took more time than was at first expected. Amberg had hoped that the house would be ready by October, 1888, at the latest, and with this firm conviction he did not renew his lease on the Thalia Theater after the summer. When his hopes seemed about to be shattered, when delay followed delay, it almost looked as if New York would be deprived of a German theater for the first time in a generation. Finally on December 1, 1888, the new theater could be opened, bearing the name of its patron saint, Gustav Amberg.[27] But his actors

[26] See above.

[27] Late in October Amberg had already given seven performances in the Star Theatre as a "Vorsaison."

and their repertoire aroused disappointment. The delay in building the theater and the uncertainty of the future had caused Amberg to postpone until August his efforts to raise a company. By that time the great majority of good actors had signed contracts elsewhere. But as usual it happened that there was in Germany a surplus of good comedians. Chiefly to these Amberg restricted his choice,[28] and there resulted a season that consisted almost exclusively of "Possen" and "Schwänke." Under such circumstances there was every reason to believe that the new theater had already fallen into the ways of its predecessor. The first play produced in the Amberg Theater, Paul Lindau's comedy, "Ein Erfolg," proved to be a failure. The most successful play of the season, a farce by Bisson and Mars, went through twenty-five performances, while Lindau's "Die beiden Leonoren" was given fourteen evenings.

Fortunately Amberg realized fully what was at stake for him. Therefore he made a serious attempt in the second season to raise the level of his theater above the ordinary. It must be acknowledged to his credit that he succeeded in doing so. To be sure, there were some hastily prepared performances. Furthermore, there was no good "jugendlicher Liebhaber" no imposing "Heldenmutter" no "Heldenvater." The staging of more serious dramas, too, suffered in comparison with the artistic presentation of operettas. But the repertoire was manysided and well chosen. Besides eighteen works of a lyrical character, there appeared forty-four dramas of all kinds, ranging from tragedy to farce, of which fourteen were new to America. The ensemble work, too, was the best seen in New York in many years.

As a fitting climax to this successful season came the second visit of Ernst Possart. Probably the most notable incident of his stay was his appearance in Sudermann's then new drama, "Die Ehre," which was presented twenty-three times during the last three weeks of the season. Other plays in which he appeared here for the first time were Calderon's

[28] Junkermann, Ottbert, Rank & Lube were the most prominent members of Amberg's troupe.

"Richter von Zalamea," Molière's "Harpagon," Ibsen's "Nora," and Freytag's "Benjamin." It must be admitted that he contributed not a little to the general success of the second year of the Amberg Theater.

Hardly as much may be said of the following season (1890-91), which still saw Amberg at the head of the theater. He introduced a novelty in the form of two "Gesammtgastspiele." One of these, given by a company of Low German actors from Hamburg, proved to be the flattest failure that ever occurred on a German stage in New York. Partly because their repertoire was too provincial, partly because they appealed only to a small minority of German-Americans, they felt compelled to quit and sail home after half a dozen performances. A second troupe of a similar character, the "Münchener Bauernensemble," met with much more success. Their fresh, natural acting, their good "team work" and their appealing repertory assured them a "run" of seventy-two performances. "Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau," with twenty-nine repetitions, succeeded best. There followed "Almenrausch und Edelweiss," "Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," "Der Meineidbauer" and many others.

Late in the spring of 1891 there were produced in rapid, bewildering succession a long list of new plays representing the latest tendencies in German literature. A study of the reception which was accorded them in New York is extremely interesting from a literary point of view. At present, however, the question can only be briefly considered. The chief dramas of the kind mentioned were: Jaffe's "Bild des Signorelli," Fulda's "Wilde Jagd,"[29] Richard Voss' "Eva," Sudermann's "Sodoms Ende," Wildenbruch's "Haubenlerche," Lindau's "Die Sonne," and Philippi's "Das alte Lied." Such an array of "first nights" had not been seen in many a year. But notwithstanding the widespread attention that the majority of these plays had aroused in Germany, they were very coldly received here. What can be the reason for this surprising fact? The New York public was, it seems, not as yet accustomed to

[29] Several months before, the same author's 'Das verlorene Paradies" was also produced.

modern literary tendencies. Still clinging to the old "Philisterkomödie," people were shocked by questions of morality and repulsed by the sordid reality which many of these plays disclosed.[30]

This may help to explain their failure. But it seems that an additional reason can be found. These productions were in the hands of the stock company of the theater, without support from a visiting star. Had there been a Possart or a Barnay present there surely would have been different results. In other words, the arch-evil and bane of the theater, the star system, was again proving its pernicious influence.

Unfavorable financial conditions made it extremely doubtful whether the Amberg Theater would be opened again in the fall of 1891. So much was certain, that Amberg would be unable to carry it through another season. Accordingly, when the theater actually opened on October 1, we find him only in the inferior capacity of assistant manager, while Leo von Raven and Max Mansfeld were the managers. Their important achievement was to win the patronage of the more influential German-American citizens. Whereas previously the theater was forced to look to the smaller tradesmen and mechanics for support,[31] the interest of men of affairs in the financial and industrial world was now enlisted. When it was successfully demonstrated to this class that comedy and farce was just as well acted in the Amberg Theater as in the English speaking theaters, they became more regular in their attendance. Another notable phenomenon in connection with the first year under the new regime is the surprisingly large number of different plays performed. The grand total of 108 plays produced in a season of seven and one-half months gives unmistakable testimony of the talent and industry of the troupe. The achievement is nothing short of marvelous, and

[30] As early as Sept. 26, 1889 Ibsen's "Nora" was performed in the Amberg Theater for the first time in America. This play was followed three months later by "Die Stützen der Gesellschaft." Having prepared his audiences in that way, Amberg now ventured to produce the above mentioned dramas.

[31] See Müller's article in Tenner's "Amerika."

has probably no parallel anywhere. The most important new plays brought out were Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" and "Volksfeind," Grillparzer's "Die Jüdin von Toledo," and Wildenbruch's "Der Menonit." Of plays that had already appeared in this country, but were now revised, were Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau," Goethe's "Geschwister" and Sudermann's "Die Ehre" and "Sodoms Ende." Four plays of Shakespeare ("Die Zähmung," "Romeo," "Othello" and "Hamlet"), three of Goethe ("Clavigo," "Faust," and "Geschwister") and five of Schiller ("Räuber," "Kabale und Liebe," "Die Jungfrau," "Don Carlos" and "Marie Stuart") appeared.

The season did not pass without its usual quota of stars. Josef Kainz, who later in the season also appeared in the Thalia Theater, Adalbert Matkowsky, Emil Thomas and others were in New York at some time during the year. Fortunately, however, they did not push themselves unduly into prominence. The "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" in its review in May, 1892, calls attention to this fact. It strongly advises an abolition of the entire star system, and its words in that connection, oracular as they are, deserve to be quoted: "Kann und will das New Yorker deutsche Theater in Zukunft nicht auf die Gäste verzichten und seine Haupteinnahmequelle in der berechtigten, von Woche zu Woche fester wurzelnden Beliebtheit seines Ensembles suchen und finden, so wird es immer mehr order weniger die prekäre Existenz des Spielers führen, welcher von der Hand in den Mund lebt."

Once again in 1891-2 New York had two German theaters for the greater part of the year. The old Thalia Theater, which had already sunk into a state of semi-oblivion, was newly opened. Carl and Theodore Rosenfeld, two ambitious theatrical promoters, secured a lease on the property. They opened the theater as early as September 4 with a Liliputian spectacle. But hardly three weeks later, on September 27, they surprised theatrical circles by bold advertisements inserted in leading New York newspapers, English and German, that under their management the players of the Duke of Meiningen, the so-called "Meininger," would give a series of performances in New York City beginning November 16. This news,

producing a pleasant thrill, seemed hardly credible to the average reader. It had been the ambition of almost every director of a German theater in New York to introduce the original "Meininger," but the plan had never been carried out. In the spring of 1886 arrangements for that purpose had been nearly perfected, and only an eleventh hour disagreement on the part of the "Meininger" prevented their appearance. It remained for the young and comparatively inexperienced Rosenfeld brothers to do what for older and more experienced managers had been impossible.

Amberg, as rival of the Rosenfelds, naturally questioned the veracity of their claims. He published in the "New York Herald" an article in which he formally challenged them to prove their statements. But he could elicit from them only a boastful and withal a sarcastic answer. Thereupon he decided to use more drastic methods of arriving at the truth, and in a telegraphic message addressed to the "Herzogliche Hoftheater-Intendanz" in Meiningen, he bluntly demanded a confirmation. The following answer was the result: "Mehrere Mitglieder des Hoftheaters von Rosenfeld engagiert. Meininger Ausstattungen von demselben angekauft. Weitere Verhandlungen im Gange." Unfortunately for Amberg the entire correspondence fell into the hands of the Rosenfelds, whence it was spread broadcast. From this source we have surely definite proof that at least a part of the famous company, together with their stage effects, visited New York. The stigma, "die falschen Meininger," which clung to the troupe was probably more the result of Amberg's press agents than anything else. The "Meininger" produced notably "Julius Caesar," "Die Hermannschlacht," "Kätchen von Heilbronn" and "Maria Stuart." Besides this they played for the first time in America Hauptmann's "Vor Sonnenaufgang," a drama over which New York audiences fairly shuddered.

The Meininger troupe, as it appeared in New York, was especially praiseworthy in ensemble play and in popular scenes. The unfortunate fact that the entire troupe could not make the trip explains the reason for the rough, uneven acting that was at times evident. But notwithstanding all defects, it re-

mains true that even during their short stay the "Meininger" exerted a salutary influence. The English stage, hopelessly decadent and commercialized, they could not reach, but they helped to drive home a valuable lesson to the German stage in this country. The fruits were bound to ripen not many years later under the genius of Heinrich Conried.

But before we pass on to those years, it is our duty to consider the one remaining season under Raven & Mansfeld in the Amberg Theater (1892-3). It was not marked by any brilliant events, but represents rather the final attempt of two incompetent managers to save themselves from destruction. Believing that a stock company of their own, good as it might be, could contribute but little to real success, and feeling convinced that the public would support only comedies and farces, they engaged for the major part of the season the entire Berlin Company of Emil Thomas, in which Max Walden, Emil Berla and Betty Damhofer-Thomas were prominent. As a result Germans who made a practice of attending the German theater were at first, to be sure, interested and amused by this very clever troupe of comedians, but soon they were wearied beyond endurance by a form of entertainment that tended to prove shallow and worthless upon closer acquaintance. The results of 1886-7, added to those of 1892-3, weigh heavily against the statement so often heard, that the Germans of New York care only for frivolous entertainment. Perhaps the present paper will have done an important service if it will show that seasons of an essentially "classical" nature, in which stars play no particular part, were crowned with more success than those of an opposite character.[32]

Such proof will act as a restoration of the reputation of Germans in New York for good dramatic taste. It has also been charged that German audiences here are not "educated to the theater" and are unappreciative. They visit the theater, according to their critics, merely to be amused, and in their unreasonable desire for hilarity, interrupt the most serious scenes with peals of laughter. These accusations are, however, refuted by Mr. Hermann Korn, who for over thirty years has

[32] Neuendorff's ultimate failure was due to other reasons.

been a member of the Irving Place troupe, and who, in addition, has acquired wide experience as an actor in Germany. He assures the writer that German-American audiences compare quite favorably in all respects with average audiences in Germany.

In the spring of 1893 the administration of Mansfeld and Raven ended. Called in two years before to replace Amberg, they did only a passive service to the theater. When actual results are considered, it must be admitted that they accomplished little. Their administrative mistakes and their insufficient knowledge of theatrical affairs caused their financial ruin. William Steinway, financial supporter of the theater, was once more forced to cast about for a new manager. Fortunately, his attention was drawn to Heinrich Conried, who was at that time managing the newly organized "Ferency Operetten Gesellschaft" and winning unparalleled success. For over three months the company attracted crowded houses in the Amberg Theater, the particular drawing card being the new operetta, "Der Vogelhändler." So popular, indeed did this musical play become that in a letter to Conried, the Raven-Mansfeld management could write: "Wir freuen uns aufrichtig — nach genauer Durchsicht unserer Bücher, einsichtlich alter Jahrgänge — Ihnen mitteilen zu können, dass die Zahl der Personen, welch bis jetzt den Aufführungen von 'Der Vogelhändler' in unserem Theater beigewohnt haben, entschieden die grösste ist, welche bis jetzt in den Annalen der deutschen Theatergeschichte New Yorks erreicht wurde."

Chapter IV.

1893-1903—Conried's First Period as Manager—Culmination of Ideals.

On April 29, 1893, the day on which the season ended, Steinway closed a contract with Conried. He was led by Conried's success with the Ferency Operetta Company to believe that he was enlisting in his services a man who could at least make the theater self-supporting. He expected to find in Conried merely a clever business man, who combined with

his shrewdness a tolerably accurate understanding of theatrical conditions. Accordingly he was most agreeably surprised on discovering that he had lighted upon a person whose executive ability and artistic taste were remarkable. By a happy chance he had chosen the one man who understood how to develop the German theater in New York to its full possibilities.

Conried's previous training had well fitted him for the arduous duties that he was to undertake. As far back as 1879, while still a young actor, he had cherished the idea of establishing a first-class German theater in New York. His failure had left him undaunted, and the following years, which he spent as "Regisseur" in the Thalia Theater, were most valuable for him in the additional experience they furnished not only in the theater, but also in the broader school of life. His subsequent checkered career, during which we find him now as dramatic teacher, now as manager for individual stars or complete organizations, helped him in the same direction. Consequently William Steinway addressed in 1893 a mature man who cherished definite aims and fixed ideals.

The first and most characteristic desire of the new manager was to assemble a stock company which would bring credit to the theater. To this end he left for Europe on May 4, 1893, and remained abroad during the entire summer. But before his departure he changed the name of the theater, which was still known as the Amberg Theater, although Amberg had for some time severed all connections with it, to the Irving Place Theater, a name which has remained until the present day.

Not many months had elapsed after the opening of the theater on September 30, 1893, before it was recognized that a new era had begun with Conried. To be sure, those who had expected a sudden and complete reversal of conditions within a short time were disappointed. A change of that kind was manifestly impossible under the circumstances. It was Conried's duty to build up for the future slowly and gradually in order to develop a well rounded ensemble. He frankly confessed that such a task was not to be accomplished in one year, but must of necessity be a series of long experiments. Whereas previous managers had always planned for the particular

season which they were facing, Conried planned for the whole future of the theater. Therein lies in part the secret of his ultimate success.

Naturally his first year brought with it no particular surprises. But certain facts deserve notice. Although the assembled company showed an inclination toward the "Konversationsstück," to the detriment of more serious drama, there was a notable lack of stars throughout the season. Operetta, as presented by the Ferency Company, still occupied a considerable part of the season,[33] and of the dramas presented the majority were "Lustspiele' and "Schwänke." One hundred and fifty evenings were devoted to comedy and farce, Schönthan's and Moser's works proving the most popular. From the list of more serious plays only the following need be mentioned: Sudermann's "Die Heimat," Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe," Nordmann's "Gefallene Engel" and Fulda's "Der Talisman.[34] In spite of these seemingly insignificant results the critic of the "Staats-Zeitung" felt justified to write as follows (May 6, 1894): "Heinrich Conried hat sich im Laufe der ersten Saison seiner Direktionstätigkeit nach so vielen Richtungen als der rechte Mann am rechten Platz erwiesen, dass jeder Freund des deutschen Theaters mit vollem Vertrauen der weiteren Gestaltung der künstlerischen Verhältnisse des in den letzten Jahren schwergeprüften Instituts entgegensehen darf." Continuing, he takes notice of how Conried had made out of a "Gastspieltheater" an "Ensembletheater in welchem nicht die Mätzchen und Kniffe des Dollars-Beifall- und grünes Ruhmesgemüse heischenden 'Stars' das grosse Wort führen, sondern ein abwechslungsreicher Spielplan in feinschattierten, sorgfältig abgetönten Aufführungen geboten wird." "Dass dies," he continues, "das einzige Mittel ist, um das deutsche Theater vor der prekären Existenz des Spielers zu schützen, der fortwährend auf eine Karte sein Alles setzt, sind in den letzten Saisons immer und immer wieder auszusprechen wir nicht müde geworden. Im letzten Winter hat

[33] Only 39 non-musical plays were produced.

[34] At the very outset Conried had promised a considerable widening of the repertory.

das Irving Place Theater keine Vorstellung gebracht, welche nicht sorgfältig Einstudierung und eine verständnisvolle Regie verrathen und eine befriedigende künstlerische Gesammtwirkung erzielt hätte."

Conried's second season showed improvements over the first. But the fact that even then a good "jugendlicher Liebhaber," an interesting "Liebhaberin," and a "junge Naive" were lacking, shows against what difficulties Conried had to work. The season is, however, important from another point of view. Conried had put the theater on a sound business basis, and had dispelled in that way the uncertain fate which always threatened its existence. At the end of the season, therefore, the usual feeling of nervous anxiety for the future was lacking.

Again the stars were conspicuously absent. Referring to this the "Staats-Zeitung" says (May 5, 1895): "Mit dieser verderblichen 'Alle für Einen'-Politik hat der einsichtsvolle Theatermann, der jetzt das Irving Place Theater leitet, glücklicherweise ein für alle Mal gebrochen." The inevitable result was that the public gradually regained its taste for better drama and learned to center its interest in the whole company and the ensemble playing. This achievement alone, which did much to restore dramatic literature to its rightful position, was sufficient to make Conried famous.

The dramatic year of 1894-5 is notable for still another season. It marks an innovation which is in every way most significant. The great German classics were produced with frequent regularity at popular prices. "Emilia Galotti," "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Nathan der Weise;" "Die Räuber," "Kabale und Liebe," "Maria Stuart" and "Wilhelm Tell," as well as "Faust" and "Othello" were included in the repertoire. The good attendance at these performances proved that even the German who has left his fatherland has not lost his love and understanding for his native literature. By continuing and developing this policy during the next few seasons, Conried was doubtless acting in the best interests of the public.

Beside the dissemination of classical drama there lies another duty in the path of the manager. He must keep the

public in touch with the most recent and most significant movements in literature. Throughout the eighties that was comparatively easy for German managers because of literary conditions in Germany.[35] But when literature regained its prominence, this obligation again assumed its natural importance. It became customary to reserve certain evenings for new plays that had met with success in the larger theatrical centers of Germany. The more important new dramas that were played in the season under consideration were Paul Lindau's "Der Andere," Philippi's "Wohltäter der Menschheit," Halbe's "Jugend," and Zobeltitz's "Ohne Geläut."

During the summer of 1895 Conried made another trip to Europe in order to continue his inexorable search for the missing links which were to strengthen his company.[36] The season of 1895-6 bore out the fact that he had been successful. The ensemble attained prominence, and there were extremely few performances that could not be characterized as well rounded. In its usual review of the season the "Staats-Zeitung" says (May 10, 1896): "Neben manchen anderen, schwer ins Gewicht fallenden Vorzügen der Conried'schen Direktion ist dieses Ensemble, das innerhalb der weitgesteckten Grenzen der modernen Bühnenproduktion, von der Farce bis zum Gesellschaftsdrama, ganz und voll seinen Mann steht, eine der erfreulichsten Errungenschaften des zielbewussten ernsten Strebens, das vor nur drei Jahren mit Heinrich Conried seinen Einzug in's Irving Place Theater gehalten hat."

It will be noticed that besides the lavish praise which the above quotation contains there is a silent criticism implied. Judging by this article, Conried's troupe was not quite as excellent in classical plays as it doubtless was in modern dramas. Altho the policy of giving popular performances of the classics was continued, the criticism is justified. Not that the plan of devoting particular attention to more recent literature is to be condemned. No just critic could make such an implication.

[35] Cf. Litzmann's excellent series of lectures "Das deutsche Drama in den literarischen Bewegungen der Gegenwart."

[36] While he was abroad, the "Berliner Börsencourier" celebrated him as the regenerator of the German theater in New York.

It is, quite to the contrary, a very desirable state of affairs, especially when the dramas produced are as significant as were those brought out by Conried.

To this period may be assigned the beginning of a real appreciation of the modern drama in New York, a circumstance which was made possible by one play, Hauptmann's "Die Weber," produced on April 1 1896.[37] Altho the season was nearing its end, Conried left no stone unturned to make the performances a success. It represents one of the most important events in the history of the German theater in New York. The original plan of presenting the drama only five times was modified, for several additional performances were demanded and given. The play adequately proved its universality of appeal. It held the audiences in a heated frenzy thruout. To be sure, many felt naturally repulsed, but even they were aroused to unconscious admiration. The production was not only a token of the artistic ability of Conried, but also an excellent proof of the irresistible power of naturalism. But a short time previous to this the play had swept over Berlin with identical results. Beside this notable event, mention may be made of the first appearance in America of Sudermann's "Schmetterlingsschlacht" and "Das Glück im Winkel," Hauptmann's "College Crampton" and Philipp's "Dornenweg."

One other fact in regard to this important season must be introduced here. For the first time since he had assumed control of the theater, Conried introduced a visiting star late in the spring of 1896. The distinction fell upon Georg Engels, a well-known "Charakterkomiker" from Berlin. But Conried's motives in extending an invitation to him were far different from the motives of previous managers in similar cases. Whereas Neuendorff, Amberg and Hermann had always been compelled by financial reasons to call for stars, Conried, supported by his competent artists alone, was making the theater pay better than had ever before been the case. What, then, could have been his motive in summoning Engels? The answer is simple. Far from being narrow-minded, Conried realized

[37] There had been an obscure amateur performance of the same play in New York City somewhat earlier.

that the "Gastspiel" has its legitimate function in every good theater. This function had, however, been abused by previous managers, who had looked upon the "Gastspiel" merely as the financial redemption of the season. Therefore it was the first duty of an intelligent manager to correct these conditions. The stars, who had crowded out their lesser colleagues, and had centered attention upon themselves, had to be dispensed with until the public might regain its sense of proportion. Such motives guided Conried.

It remains to examine whether in the three years that he had allowed to elapse without a star, Conried had gained his purpose. Engels, of course, appeared exclusively in comedy rôles. His repertoire consisted of "College Crampton," "Der Herr Senator," and other plays of the same class. It is evident that he appeared in that very type of play which is claimed to be most popular in New York. But the remarkable fact remains that, altho in previous years actors of no higher talent had enjoyed great success, Engels did not succeed. Patrons of the German theater had learned their lesson well. They now looked up to a well rounded stock company and not to an individual. It is therefore hardly a paradox to say that Engel's failure was in reality the assertion of Conried's triumph.

Under circumstances such as are described above it was in every way justifiable for Conried to make continued and legitimate use of the "Gastspiel" system. Hereafter it was his general practice to import a star late in every season. In 1896-7 it was the noted actress, Frau Agnes Sorma. She continued Conried's policy of laying particular emphasis on modern dramatic literature. Doubtless her most notable achievement was her interpretation of Rautendelein in Hauptmann's "Versunkene Glocke." The performances of this play must rank with that of "Die Weber" of the previous year among the most important events in the history of the German stage in New York. Sorma also appeared in Ibsen's "Nora," Schnitzler's "Liebelei," Sardou's "Dora," Birch-Pfeiffer's "Dorf und Stadt" and Robert's "Chic."

The financial troubles which the times brought with them did not fail to leave an impression upon the theatrical world.

This explains why the season as a whole was not very successful, in fact the least successful since Conried's advent. But it proved to be only a temporary reversal of fortune, and with the next season conditions gradually returned to their normal state.

For the sake of completeness it may be well to mention other German theatrical projects in New York that were contemporary with Conried's activity in the Irving Place Theater. At the time that the latter assumed control of the theater on Irving Place, Adolph Philipp, a comedian, whose wide talents included also a knowledge of libretto composition, opened a Germania Theater on Eighth street, near Fourth avenue. This theater remained in his possession until the end of the season 1901-2, when it was torn down. Philipp restricted his efforts almost entirely to his own productions, which were "volkstumlich" in the extreme and appealed to the grosser tastes. Such representative titles as "Der Corner-Grocer," "Der Pawnbroker von der Eastside," "Der Butcher aus der 1. Ave." and "Die Landlady" give a fair conception of the quality of these offerings. In 1896-7 and again in 1898-9 Philipp had as "Gast" the now decrepit Marie Geistinger, who, altho she appeared in her old rôles, was hardly a shadow of her former self. The "Tegernsee Bauerngesellschaft" also appeared in this theater. In 1899-1900 Amberg became manager. With a troupe headed by a certain Direktor Leon Resemann, he offered Wildenbruch's "König Heinrich" and classical plays. This short stay of the Resemann Company was probably the most fruitful period for Philipp's Germania. Several years later Philipp appeared on the scene again, in a hall on Eighty-sixth street, between Lexington and Third avenues. He produced there nothing of value. Lesser attempts to maintain German theaters in New York, as for example the production in May, 1894, of Hauptmann's "Hannele" by the Rosenfelds in the Fifth Avenue Theater, can only be mentioned in passing.

We return to Conried at the Irving Place Theater. During the first months of the year 1897-98 attendance was still slack, but improved rapidly. A series of "Schüler-Vorstellungen" at half prices was particularly successful. These "Vorstellungen,"

which took place on Saturdays either at 10 a. m. or at the regular matinee hour, were, as their name indicates, intended for school children. They did much to awaken in that class a taste for good literature and to furnish a better understanding for the German classics. The "Schüler-Vorstellungen" soon became a regular event in the Irving Place Theater and continue to the present day.

On the other hand, there was not lacking during the year a wide repertory of new and interesting plays. A significant event occurred on February 23, 1898, when Conried celebrated his twenty-fifth anniversary as an actor. He appeared once more in "Gringoire," the play which had introduced him to America over twenty years ago. He also recited Coppée's "Der Strike der Schmieder," with which he had once as a youth of seventeen secured a trial in the Burgtheater at Vienna.

Maintaining his theory that the "Gastspiel" has its place in a well regulated season, Conried arranged for a second visit of Sorma. She opened her stay on March 14 with Ibsen's "Nora," and for almost two months played to overcrowded houses. This time, however, she was not alone, for she brought along a very promising "jugendlicher Liebhaber," Rudolf Christians, who was destined later to assume an important part in the history of the theater. But beside a Sunday performance of Fulda's "Unter vier Augen" he appeared in only one rôle, in Rosmer's charming "Märchendrama," "Die Königskinder." Agnes Sorma aroused particular attention in Björnson's "Die Neuvermählten," which has been revived in the present season (1914-15), and in Shakespeare's "Zähmung der Widerspenstigen." Her failure to appear in "Romeo and Juliet" was a general source of regret.

The season 1898-99 will always be remembered in the minds of Germans in New York by one word—Sonnenthal. Fourteen years had elapsed since his first journey to these shores. During his first visit, it will be remembered, he had made no particularly favorable impression. But he had changed with the years, and in the "old Sonnenthal,," as he appeared now, one could hardly recognize the younger man of fourteen years ago. Altho he remained less than a month (April 6-May 1,

1899), Sonnenthal made a deep impression. He appeared chiefly in "Nathan," "Wallenstein," Sardou's comedy, "Alte Junggesellen" and Hauptmann's "Fuhrmann Henschel." In the last mentioned play, which had never before appeared in this country, he was well-nigh perfect.

But it would be an error to believe that Sonnenthal alone made the season 1898-99 worth while. It is true that Conried had been disappointed at the very outset by the failure of some of his best actors to appear. However, their belated arrival made it possible for him to execute his more ambitious plans. The most successful play of the season, Blumenthal and Kadeburg's comedy, "Im weissen Röss'l" was repeated sixty times, while Felix Philippi's "Das Erbe" survived over thirty performances. Considering the season from an artistic standpoint, and leaving Sonnenthal out of consideration, the most noteworthy event was the performance of Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac" in Fulda's translation. It was in all respects excellent, altho it did not draw as much as Mansfield's English production of the same play. Other new plays, among them Schnitzler's "Freiwild" and Fulda's "Jugenfreunde" did not meet with any great favor.

In order to prove to his critics and to his own satisfaction that it was still possible to dispense with a Sonnenthal or a Sorma. Conried invited no great star in 1899-1900. Felix Schweighofer, a comedian, and Carl Wagner, a tragedian, hardly stood out above the other members of the troupe. The former, who doubtless possessed unusual talent, spoiled the effect of his work by the antiquated nature of his repertoire; the latter lent good services to a laudable attempt to revive the classical drama. This movement, set on foot by Conried, succeeded as far as is possible for any movement of that kind. The ever present drawback is the fact that the classical drama appeals at best only to a small circle. This difficulty must be taken into account even on the English stage, and when we consider that the German theater in New York draws its audiences from a limited number of actual residents, whereas the English theater relies not only on the whole city, but on an enormous transient population besides, we can appreciate the

perplexity of the problem. It may also be mentioned that the important difference between English and German audiences in New York, which has been pointed out, explains the large annual repertoire of fifty to sixty plays in the Irving Place Theater.

The most valuable additions to the repertory in the season under consideration were Goethe's "Iphigenie" and Grillparzer's "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen." The majority of plays that appeared must be reckoned in the category of farce and light comedy. It is evident that Conried was making a concession to the desire of the majority, which frequently demands entertainment of that character. The company was up to Conried's usual high standard, well balanced and excellent in every respect.

In the year 1901 there appeared a very interesting book entitled "The Stage in America. 1897-1901." It deals with the entire broad subject for three years, and is written by Norman Hapgood, one of the sanest and most competent American students of the stage. In this book, which is in every way to be recommended, Hapgood devotes an entire chapter (pp. 134-149) to the Irving Place Theater. He describes it in no unmistakable terms as 'our only high-class theater." He praises Conried as a notable exception to the mercenary manager, who is so prominent in this country, and takes note of the fact that the former "gives up to cheap farces only as many weeks of each year as will enable him to produce, during the remainder of the season, worthy modern plays and good classics." (Vide, p. 7.) In another place (p. 34), comparing American methods with German methods, he says, "When he (i. e., Charles Frohmann of the Syndicate) bent all his resources for months to the success of "Romeo and Juliet" in the spring of 1899, the result, compared to what Mr. Conried could do with a German classic, with his own company, in three weeks—was amateurish." The author consequently decides (p. 135) that "the best average acting in any American playhouse is seen at the one which gives, in German, more classics than any of our English speaking companies."

Hapgood's words are forceful, but since he is known as an unbiased critic, we need not hesitate to accept his conclusions. In fact, he himself supports his decisions by the words of an English critic who is just as outspoken (pp. 143-144). Hapgood proceeds to point out that the German actors are broader and better equipped than their American colleagues. He compares the "Sunken Bell" of Sothern and Marlow (1899-1900) with the simultaneous performance of the same play in the Irving Place Theater, much to the disadvantage of the former. He praises the wonderful ensemble work of the German actors in "Wallensteins Lager," saying in that connection (pp. 238-9): "Observers who know how hard English managers have to work to make a good crowd for fifteen minutes, in a play which is to run a year, would, if they could see the immense superiority of this crowd, prepared for so short a time, understand some of the advantages of such training as actors get in the best German theaters, and of such a director as Mr. Conried."

Three reasons are pointed out by Hapgood for this marked superiority. The first is that German taste is more serious than American. The other two reasons have already been mentioned. They are: Changes of bill are constantly necessary in the German theater because of a lack of floating population; valuable plays are interspersed even in the farce season. An additional factor is the personal efficiency of the manager. In this respect Conried was supreme. He had the firm conviction that managing a theater was an art. He always insisted that he was not in the theatrical business for financial gains. "If I were simply looking for a business I could find a better one," he once exclaimed.[38] This unselfish devotion to a cause
important source of income for him.
is nowhere better exemplified than in his lectures and theatrical performances given at his own expense in various colleges and universities.[39]

It remains to consider in the present chapter the achievements of three seasons, extending as far as the summer of

[38] A steamer chair industry which he controlled was an

[39] Cf. A. B. Faust, "German Element," vol. 2, pp. 333-4.

1903. The first of these furnished nothing new. Out of a number of promised premières, among them Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," Wilbrandt's "Meister von Palmyra" and Björnson's "Über unsere Kraft" not a single one became a reality. The only new plays of interest that were introduced to New York audiences before the arrival of the season's star were Otto Erich Hartleben's tragedy, "Rosenmontag," and his one-act comedy, "Die sittliche Forderung." Schnitzler's "Das Vermächtnis" and Dreyer's "Probekandidat" were coldly received.

On the other hand, much time was devoted to farces and to dramas of an older type, notably those from the pen of Birch-Pfeiffer and Halm. From an artistic standpoint the season was redeemed by the coming of Frau Helene Odilon from Vienna. The exceedingly clumsy campaign of publicity with which she was heralded, and which tended to convey the impression that her talents were concentrated upon her gowns, was soon forgotten when she appeared in person. Her appearance in Hermann Bahr's "Der Star" and Fulda's "Die Zwillingsschwestern" showed her to be a typical Viennese artist. Incidentally, these plays helped to swell the rather meager list of the season's new offerings.

It is interesting to discover the reason for the inferiority of this season. It is not difficult to find. Conried had committed the error of engaging an insufficient number of actors. In the few preceding seasons just the opposite fault prevailed, an oversupply of professional talent. The latter condition, undesirable as it may prove to a manager from a financial point of view, is always welcome to the general public. It assures healthy competition and an abundance of new plays. Conried, however, had considered the question from another angle. He had argued that it would be a useless outlay to maintain an extended payroll. But in cutting it down he had gone a trifle too far. The result was that his small company was constantly overworked, and found no time to rehearse new plays.

These faults were, however, amply corrected in the season that followed (1901-2). Conried began the year with a very complete and well rounded company. Nevertheless it was

fortunate that he brought out his most important acquisitions, Heyse's "Verschleiertes Bild zu Sais," Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," Otto Ernst's "Flachsmann als Erzieher" and Georg Engel's "Der Ausflug in's Sittliche" at comparatively early dates. The same may be said of the performances of "Maria Stuart," "Wilhelm Tell," "Iphigenie" and "Uriel Acosta.', For in the very midst of the season three of the best actors, among them two leading lights, Kathi Brandt and Adolf Zimmermann, died. These unfortunate losses crippled the theater, and since it was too late to call for reserves from abroad, Conried was compelled to make the best of his available material.

An additional circumstance contributed no less to the misfortunes of the season. The widely heralded visit of Prince Henry took up a considerable part of Conrieds time, so that he was forced to leave the management of the theater to subordinates. The unhappy results during that time throw an interesting sidelight on Conried's ability. By comparing the barren weeks which comprised the regime of the subordinates to any given period under Conried, we note at once the vast difference. The only valuable play produced during Conried's inactivity was Tolstoi's "Die Macht der Finsterniss," which was, however, found unsuitable for the stage.

A more fruitful chapter in the history of the season is contributed by the visiting stars, Ferdinand Bonn, Helene Odilon, and Adolf Sonnenthal. Bonn was critically received, but gradually won popularity. Frau Helene Odilon, who was already known from the previous season, did not offer much that was new. The most noteworthy event, which must always remain memorable, was the last appearance in America of Sonnenthal. Altho seventy-two years of age, he won new admirers by his brilliant portrayal of Nathan and King Lear. After this visit he never crossed the ocean again, but lived to celebrate in Vienna his fiftieth anniversary as an actor. He died in the same city in 1909.

There follows a brief survey of the last year, which falls under the present chapter. The season, from a strictly dramatic point of view, was an unusually short one. The

theater opened on October 2, 1902, with a new comedy by Otto Ernst, "Jugend von heute." Presentation of dramas was discontinued on April 19 of the next year, when the Ferency Operetta Company opened an engagement. But within these few months enough occurred to sustain a lively interest. Excellent performances of "Don Carlos," "Wilhelm Tell" and "Emilia Galotti" met the demands of those who were more seriously inclined; Björnson's "Über unsere Kraft," Sudermann's "Fritzchen" and "Sodoms Ende" served those whose literary tastes inclined toward modern literature; and the second visit of Ferdinand Bonn finally aroused the interest of all. His most important contribution to the season was a very interesting and novel performance of "Faust." The first part of the tragedy was performed almost in its entirety, two evenings being devoted to the complete presentation. The performance of the first night extended thru the scene "Hexenküche," and was called rather incorrectly "Die Faust-Tragödie," while the second evening brought the rest of the work under the title of "Die Gretchen-Tragödie." To the same season may be traced the successful introduction in America of Meyer Förster's charming student play, "Alt-Heidelberg," which had fifty performances during its first season in the Irving Place Theater and later met with success also on the English stage.

Chiefly in the spring of 1903 there were given on various English stages in New York some performances which are interesting for the student of German. The more important of these are the appearance of Mrs. Patrick Campbell in an English version of Sudermann's "Es lebe das Leben," and the appearance of students of Sargent's theatrical school in Hauptmann's "Einsame Menschen" and Max Nordau's "Das Recht zu lieben." Performances of this kind have a salutary influence. They help to introduce the American public to the best foreign literature and act as a stimulating force. Moreover, they present evidence of a growing appreciation for modern dramatic literature in America.

Chapter V.

1903-1907—Conried's Last Years.

In the foregoing chapter we examined the achievements of Heinrich Conried during the years which we have termed his first period in the Irving Place Theater. The year 1903 does not mark the end of his incumbency. It therefore remains to justify a division at this particular point.

From 1893, when he assumed the position of manager, up to 1903 Conried devoted his entire attention to the theater. The excellent quality of his work had won for him a reputation which extended even to Germany. This very fact proved a misfortune for the theater. Conried was called upon to assume a larger duty and to enter a wider sphere of activity. It is a well-known fact that in the spring of 1903 he was appointed director of the Metropolitan Opera House, to succeed Maurice Grau.

At first there were serious doubts expressed as to whether Conried would be able and willing to continue the management of the theater. It was admitted that his duties at the opera house would be arduous. Conried himself gave the matter due consideration, and finally decided to divide his attention as far as possible. He did not wish to abandon suddenly a work to which he had devoted the ten best years of his life. We shall consider below the question whether his course of action can be justified.

The very first season (1903-4) under the new conditions showed that the master mind of the manager was no longer at active work. Without Conried's helpful suggestions and criticism the company, which was only of fair ability, soon fell in a narrow repertory. The only representative works of a better class were Sudermann's "Es lebe das Leben," Maeterlinck's "Monna Vanna" and Halbe's "Strom." Conried soon came to realize the physical impossibility of managing the theater in person, and he appointed as his representative the actor, v. Seyffertitz, who in spite of earnest endeavor could achieve but unsatisfactory results. At the end of the season Conried dismissed almost his entire personnel.

The season was only saved by the arrival of the "Gäste" Ferdinand Bonn and Rudolf Christians. The former was making his third visit to this country; the latter, who six years earlier had supported Sorma, his second. They appeared together and made a tremendous "hit" with Beyerlein's military play, "Zapfenstreich," which was accorded a reception that few German plays in this country can boast of. Bonn and Christians also appeared in classics. They performed "Nathan," "Don Carlos," Freytag's Journalisten" and Grillparzer's "Jüdin von Toledo."

The season 1904-5 again presented a chaotic state of affairs. Conried was still the nominal manager, but the problem of the opera house precluded his active interest in the theater. Even the most esoteric questions were left in the hands of Seyffertitz and other subordinates. This group entirely lacked the prerequisite quality of inspiring good discipline among the actors and maintaining a spirit of harmony. They showed poor judgment, too, in selecting new plays, for out of a long list of interesting possibilities they produced only Arno Holz's "Traumulus" and Maxim Gorky's "Nachtasyl." The theater was at least fortunate in securing the services of Heinrich Marlow and Margarethe Russ. The former is still one of the most popular members of the Irving Place company.

Matters improved when Agathe Barsescu, an excellent "Heldin-Darstellerin," appeared as "Gast" in the Grillparzer rôles of Hero, Medea and Sappho, as Hebbel's Rhodope, as Sudermann's Magda, and as Schiller's Prinzessin Eboli. She was followed by others, notably by the "jugendlicher Moderner" Harry Walden, and by the stars of the previous year, Bonn and Christians. All four took part in a Schiller celebration, which extended from April 10 to April 14 and during which "Don Carlos," "Wallensteins Tod" and "Maria Stuart" were put on the boards.

Under such conditions the interest of the public naturally became intermittent. During the early part of the season, when new plays were but rare, attendance fell off considerably. This state of affairs continued well into the winter, and not until the stars had taken full control did box office re-

ceipts begin to approach a normal condition. No season, however, is to be judged exclusively by the success of the stars, but rather by the average work of the regular company.

The last two seasons that fall into the plan of the present chapter were no better on the whole than the preceding ones. In 1905-6 two complete companies were promised, one for operetta, and one for drama. The former, however, was a failure, and in order to meet the expenses of maintenance, it was set to acting farces of no merit. The "Schauspieltruppe" was handicapped by a meager repertory. With the exception of Fulda's "Maskerade," which was produced because of the author's visit to America, and Ibsen's "Frau vom Meere," very few new dramas appeared. No great star was engaged for the season. The best work of the year was probably contributed by the soubrette, Lina Abarbanell, who later was seen in English operetta. An additional event of importance was the visit of Ludwig Fulda. The fact that the theater was passing thru a crisis escaped his notice, for he was on the whole pleased with the work of the company, which, of course, did its best during his short stay. In speaking of the Irving Place Theater in his very appreciative work, "Amerikanische Eindrücke" (pp. 84-5), he says: "Von den künstlerischen Leistungen war ich auf's angenehmste überrascht; ich habe auf manchem ersten Theater des lieben Vaterlandes schon schwächere Vorstellungen gesehen."

On the whole, the repertoire of the season was carelessly chosen. The long sessions during which the one company appeared necessitated inactivity for the other. This protracted idleness proved a bane to the actors. They became careless, and their work suffered accordingly. Even Walden, admittedly a good actor, was forced by the desires of his colleagues to take part in trivial farces. Madame Barsescu, who had taken up her residence in New York, appeared only once throughout the season.

The critics, in the spring of 1906, were unanimous in the opinion that a change in management was imperative. The whole future of the theater seemed to be at stake, for it was

evident that several more seasons of the same kind would bring disastrous consequences. Accordingly, they put the question to Conried himself. But he refused to abandon the theater, and promised to find more time for it in the next season.

Notwithstanding sincere attempts on Conried's part to keep his promises and to convince his friends of his still active interest in the theater, his last season in the German playhouse was no success. The theater was very poorly attended, the repertoire was quite barren, and the season could only be carried to the end by benefits, special performances and other attractions of an unusual character. In this way several interesting "first nights," practically the only ones of the season, were arranged for, among them those of Sudermann's "Das Blumenboot," and Fulda's "Heimlicher König." The repertory embraced about forty plays, of which the above mentioned, as well as Oscar Wilde's "Salome," Blumenthal and Kadelburg's "Der blinde Passagier," which ran for six weeks, and a good performance of "Faust" were the most significant.

The season closed on May 15, 1907, and was succeeded by a short period of opera by pupils of the Metropolitan Opera School, under the direction of Conried. This event marks the end of Conried's connection with the theater, for he resigned his managership in the spring of 1907. It terminates not only his fourteen years of service in the Irving Place Theater, but also his active interest in German-American theatrical affairs, which extended over thirty years.

Enough has been said of Conried's far-reaching influence on dramatic history of this country. Let it be sufficient to add only one more excellent proof of the wide, salutary effect of his work. Winthrop Ames, the director of the short-lived New Theater of New York, in his account of its history, speaks of Conried in no uncertain terms.[40] He frankly states that Conried's Irving Place Theater served as a model for the founders

[40] See A. B. Faust. Das Deutschtum in den Ver. Staaten in seiner Bedeutung für die amerikanische Kultur, pp. 301-2.

of the New Theater.[41] This furnishes additional evidence that Conried's genius absolutely dominated the American stage.

Besides, the statement bespeaks the triumph of German dramatic theories even in America.

Ames continues his report in the same tone. He does not hesitate to call Conried the best manager of his time, and in this fact finds the reason for the appointment of a man who knew little about operatic music to the directorship of the Metropolitan Opera House. If Conried had lived, says Ames, he doubtless would have been appointed manager of the New Theater. It is an open question, however, whether he would have met with more success than that which fell to the lot of the actual managers. It was always Conried's dream to found an English theater on the plan of the Irving Place Theater. Possibly he was prompted to undertake the work at the Metropolitan Opera House with the hope of furthering his favorite project.

It is now in order to discuss Conried's apparent infidelity to the theater during the last few years. It was noticeable from the time that he accepted the offer of the directors of the opera house that the theater was suffering from neglect. Conried was admittedly at fault. By undertaking his new position Conried was slighting the theater, but he was following the call of a higher duty. He was taking a step toward the fulfillment of his ultimate aim, the founding of a national American theater. However, he overestimated his own great capacity for work, and if he had for a moment recognized that his course of action necessitated a neglect of the theater, he would doubtless have abandoned the latter. As it was, he let matters grow worse thru four seasons, always hoping that the future would bring improvement. When it finally dawned upon him that he was attempting to do the impossible,

[41] See a booklet entitled "The New Theater—New York," especially pp. 18-19. We read there: "For a decade and more a number of New York dramatic critics used the German theater to club a sense of the situation into the heads of the public." To Mr. Conried belongs "the credit of setting the enterprise (i. e. New Theater) on foot."

he worked all the harder in his despair. Consequently he ruined his physical constitution, was forced to abandon the theater in 1907 and the opera in 1908, and to depart for Europe under the care of a physician. He died at Meran on April 27, 1909.

CHAPTER VI.

1907-1914—Recent Developments.

The period which began with Conried's resignation in 1907 is still fresh in the minds of those who are interested in the fortunes of the German theater. The story of its most recent vicissitudes belongs rather to the history of contemporary events than to a chronicle of past events. It will be the aim of the present chapter to describe these later developments.

Conried's resignation had no great effect upon the theater. The fact that for four seasons it had been getting along without any important help from its manager made it more or less independent of him, not without detriment to itself, to be sure. The long expected news of his retirement, therefore, caused no surprise and comment. There were those, nevertheless, who predicted that it meant the end of the German theater. They argued that it had outlived its usefulness, and that without a competent leader it would soon be forced to close its doors. The fallacy of this reasoning was soon exposed.

The task of choosing a successor to Conried was difficult. Finally the position was offered to Dr. Maurice Baumfeld. He was a man of literary and dramatic tastes, with only little actual experience in theatrical management. An intimate friend and admirer of Gerhart Hauptmann, he was respected in New York as a distinguished litterateur. He was already known in this country chiefly thru his excellent articles in the "Staats-Zeitung,[42] and thru a performance of one of his dramas, "Die Nacht der Liebe," in the spring of 1906 in the Irving Place Theater. In Baumfeld there was introduced to New York a new type of manager.

[42] Cf. e. g. his article on "Die Carikatur in der Weltgeschichte" in the isue of Febr. 19, 1905.

It is interesting to compare his methods with those of his predecessors. He managed the theater on the basis of the larger municipal theaters in Germany. His particular model was the "Burgtheater" in his native city of Vienna. His first step in 1907-8 was to exclude all stars. The stock company which he engaged included such excellent artists as Hedwig Reicher, Georgine Neuendorff, Marie Reichardt, Heinrich Marlow, and Karl Sauermann. Of the thirty-seven different plays produced, twenty were new to New York. This fact is in itself a token of the high quality of Baumfeld's work. A farce from the French of Feydeau entitled "Herzogin Crevette," with twenty-six performances, was most frequently played. There followed "Götz" and Fulda's "Dummkopf" with eighteen each. These were succeeded by three "Einakter" of Schnitzler, "Die letzten Masken," "Der grüne Kakadu," and "Literatur" with twelve performances each. Other notable plays were Calderons "Richter von Zalamea" and Hebbel's "Maria Magdalene."

Throughout the season under consideration Baumfeld was very fair to the classics. The excellent performances of "Götz von Berlichingen," the best yet seen in this country, deserves especial mention. He succeeded, too, in producing the requisite "hits," the "Kassenstücke" as they are known in Germany. But he slighted somewhat the modern drama, since he produced only one play of Sudermann and one of Halbe. His plan of reserving thirty evenings for purely literary works was actually carried out. It created a desirable atmosphere, but was financially unsuccessful.

At least one serious mistake was made, however, by Baumfeld during his first year in the Irving Place Theater, to wit, he ended the season very weakly. Disregarding the psychological fact that the latter part of the season remains longest in the memory of the public, he presented nothing new or noteworthy at that time. The result was that the season left on the minds of the theatergoers a very feeble impression. This was especially to be regretted at that time when the public should have been prepared for the great events that were to follow in the fall of 1908.

The season 1908-9 will be remembered as of particular importance. For the first time in almost twenty years New York again could boast of two regular first-class German theaters. This was due primarily to Baumfeld. Feeling that the old theater on Irving Place was not large or sumptuous enough for his idealistic purpose, he appealed to the wealthy German-Americans of New York to assist him in establishing a more suitable playhouse. His model was again the "Wiener Burgtheater." He wished to give New York a German theater that could vie with the best of Germany, both in architectural beauty and in artistic ideals.

His appeal was heard, and enough money was quickly subscribed to permit the erection on the site of the old Lenox Lyceum at Madison avenue, near Fifty-ninth street, of a beautiful "Neues Deutsches Theater." [43] Eugen Burg, a noted actor, was chosen co-manager to Baumfeld. They spared no expense in their elaborate preparations for a season which was intended to be an epoch-making one. Among other things they engaged a stock company the equal of which had probably never been seen in New York. Over thirty actors comprised the ensemble, while the star of the season was Conrad Dreher, a popular comedian who had become conspicuous by Bismarck's predilection in his favor.

The opening of the new theater was an impressive event. The play which Baumfeld chose for the occasion was Wildenbruch's "Die Rabensteinerin." The performance was perfect in every respect, and aroused the unbounded admiration of the large, distinguished audience. It was preceded by a prologue written especially for the occasion by Ernst von Wildenbruch. Those who shook their heads after the first night and predicted that such a high standard could not be maintained thruout the season were soon undeceived. It is true that light comedy and farce were not neglected, but it had been well demonstrated by the experience of previous seasons that even this genre has its place in a well regulated repertoire. On the other hand, the presence of Dreher assured a goodly number

[43] Cf. a description of it in "Architectural Record," Dec. 1908.

of comedies of a higher rank. He was particularly successful in two very clever works of that kind, "Matthias Gollinger" and "Jägerblut."

Indeed, Baumfeld's season in the "Neues Deutsches Theater" was from an artistic point of view almost ideal. The classics were well represented, especially by an admirable performance of "Wilhelm Tell,"[44] the popular "Zugstück," was not neglected, and modern drama was given a prominent place. Beside the opening play already mentioned, Molnar's "Der Teufel,"[45] Hauptmann's "Hanneles Himmelfahrt" and "Die Weber," Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," "Das Glück im Winkel," and "Die Heimat," Halbe's "Die Jugend," and Fulda's "Jugendfreunde" appeared.[46]

There could be no doubt that as far as real artistic worth of dramas was concerned Baumfeld's presentations equaled those of his predecessor Conried in every respect. But a theater cannot exist on the mere strength of its artistic excellence and the idealism of its manager. As its basis there must be an efficient, intelligent business system. In this respect the "Neues Deutsches Theater" was woefully lacking. Of its two managers the senior partner was a man of letters, an idealistic dreamer, who knew nothing of the practical problems of life and would have nothing to do with them. The junior partner, far from making good the deficiency, was an actor who understood only that phase of theatrical activity which manifests itself behind the scenes. Of the business problems which confront the manager he had no conception. This unfortunate state of affairs brought inevitable calamity in its wake. Important details of administration, in fact all

[44] The sumptuous settings for the production, prepared especially for the occasion, were later donated by friends to the "Deutscher Verein" of Cornell University, which produced the play on Dec. 8, 1910, in Ithaca, in accordance with its promise.

[45] At the same time George Arliss was presenting the play in an English version at the Belasco Theater.

[46] A novel event took place on Nov. 16, 1908, when students from Cornell University gave a brilliant performance of "Alt Heidelberg" in the theatre.

matters of a practical nature were left in the hands of irresponsible subordinates, who were either dishonest or utterly incompetent. It was, indeed, pitiable to observe the helplessness and lack of concern which the managers displayed.

Under these circumstances, and because of certain misunderstandings between Baumfeld and Burg, the "Neues Deutsches Theater" came to a very sudden and disastrous end. After a final week of operetta, it closed its doors on April 17, 1909. Two days later it was reopened, but under the name "Plaza Music Hall." It had fallen from the proud position which Baumfeld had given it to the rank of an ordinary American music hall and vaudeville house. The actors were completely stranded—some of them were actually penniless—and to relieve the embarrassment, they gave a benefit performance for themselves in the great hall of the Waldorf Astoria.

As indicated above, the new theater of Baumfeld was not the only German playhouse in New York during the season 1908-9. The Irving Place Theater opened its doors on October 1 as usual, and was under the management of Otto Weil. The season, however, was a poor one. The company was of inferior merit, the star, Otto Gebühr of Dresden, hardly stood above the level represented by the rest of the actors, and the repertory consisted of an almost unbroken chain of poor farces. Weil is, however, not to be condemned on this account. He was merely performing his unpleasant task of creating active competition against Baumfeld. The lessees of the theater had not reckoned on any opposition from Baumfeld, but under the circumstances their lease on the Irving Place property forced them, for financial reasons, to engage in a destructive rivalry. Weil calculated that his purpose could best be served by an appeal to grosser tastes. But his measure of success was hardly greater than that of Baumfeld, for a week after the closing of the "Neues Deutsches Theater," the Irving Place Theater also ended its season.

The "Evening Post" commented editorially on April 22, 1909, upon the German theatrical situation. This publication admits that Germans have the right to claim the lead over

all nations in theatrical taste. But if, the "Post" argues, not even one German theater can be supported in New York, the second largest city of the world, there is ample proof at hand that even Germans, at least those living in New York, are degenerating in taste. The charge herein brought forth has been repeatedly made, and deserves some consideration. The present writer doubts its fairness, especially when it is based upon the resnlts of the season 1908-9. Failure brought about by inefficient management on the one hand and unconscientious fawning upon depraved tastes on the other, does not reflect in any way upon the intelligence of the public.

The season of 1909-10, considered quite apart from the German theater, was made memorable by the opening of the New Theater. The small success of this laudable attempt to improve the condition of the American theater is well known, and its consideration does not fall within the scope of the present paper. It may be noted here, however, that at present a similar attempt is being made by Emanuel Reicher, a German actor, and a member of the Berlin "Freie Bühne." Reicher's plan is to found a "modern stage," the object of which would be to produce in English the most important literary works of contemporary authors, regardless of nationality. From the point of view of the present paper the move is significant because at its head there stands a German.

The fall of 1909 found New York with its one customary German playhouse, the Irving Place Theater. The new director, Theodor Burgarth, was an actor, with whom New York had already become acquainted in former years. The stock company, however, was very poor, even inferior to Weil's troupe of the previous season. As a result much emphasis was laid on musical comedy. Of plays that were new to New York only Hauptmann's "Der Biberpelz" met with success.

There was a tendency to lay all blame on Burgarth and his assistant Stein, but without reason. The lessees, chief among whom was August Lüchow, had elected Burgarth very late. Consequently, when he assumed control, the company had already been engaged by others. He was, therefore, compelled to make the best of what was put at his disposal. The

season was brought to a close in May, 1910, by a company of peasant actors from Berchtesgaden, who appeared to advantage in Swiss and Bavarian dialect plays.

There had from time to time appeared in native German newspapers and periodicals comments on the work of the German theater in this country. At times these discussions were very favorable, as for instance the article on Conried in the "Berliner Börsencourier" (see page 46). But during the season under consideration there appeared an article on the subject in the "Neues Wiener Journal," which is written in a very different tone.[47] The writer boldly claims that the

[47] Vid. "Staats-Zeitung," March 14, 1909.

German theater in New York is dead, that for years it has been no cultural factor, and that it represents a prostitution of the dramatic art. He comes to the conclusion that its disgraceful course ought to be checked as soon as possible. But comments of this kind are not to be taken too seriously. In most cases the authors were probably misled by temporary reverses which the theater has suffered, by false and exaggerated reports, or by inability to understand the peculiar conditions under which the American theater must labor.

Burgarth's second and last year in the Irving Place Theater (1910-11) came to a very sudden conclusion. He failed before the end of the season, and it was necessary to look for a new manager. This was, however, a comparatively easy task. In January, 1911, Amberg had returned to New York with Ernst Possart, and had opened the Garden Theater for a short season. On this final visit Possart celebrated his three hundred and fiftieth stage appearance in this country. When Possart had completed his stay, Amberg continued in the Garden Theater with an operatic troupe, and finally completed his short season with a second visit of Dreher. At that time Burgarth failed, and Amberg was requested to step into his place. He accepted and continued the season with his own operatic troupe and with Dreher, and also persuaded Possart to give three more farewell performances.

In the meanwhile Rudolf Schildkraut, an actor whom Burgarth had invited early in the season, but could now no

longer greet, arrived in this country. Amberg easily came to terms with him. Schildkraut proved to be a most versatile artist, rivaling in this respect the famous Marie Geistinger. He made a very favorable début as King Lear, but was soon seen in comedy, farce, and even operetta.

In that way Amberg won his way back to the directorship of the theater of which he was the original sponsor. Even before the failure of Burgarth had made this possible, he had planned with Dreher to secure his old theater for 1911-12. His project was very ambitious, but could never be realized. He wished to import with the help of Dreher whole companies. These complete organizations, one for operetta, another for serious drama and a third for lighter dramas, were to arrive at different periods in the season, to appear a certain number of weeks in New York, and then to journey to larger cities in other parts of the country. Amberg's sudden call to the Irving Place Theater, however, made the development of this interesting plan impossible. But he carried it out at least in part in 1911-12. He imported a complete operatic troupe, the best seen here in many years. From October to March it performed almost without interruption. Later in the season Amberg imported another complete company, a troupe of peasant actors from Oberammergau. Beside these very ambitious undertaking Amberg produced for the first time Schönthan's interesting play, "Glaube und Heimat."

In the fall of 1911 Direktor Stein, who had gained experience as Burgarth's colleague, attempted to establish in the Berkeley Theater (Forty-fourth street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues) a "Deutsches Komödienhaus." The seats were to be sold at "popular prices," and there were to be no performances on Wednesdays or Sundays. But after an activity of two weeks the theater closed.

The failure of Baumfeld three years previous had been a terrible shock to him. Immediately thereafter he retired into private life, hoping to forget, if possible, his downfall. But his restless nature prompted him to seek another trial. His opportunity came in the fall of 1912, and he was once more making excellent progress when early in March, 1913, he

suddenly died. Only the superb excellence of the stock company made possible a continuation of the good work. Fortunately there belonged to this company a trio of artists, Rudolf Christians, Otto Stöckel and Heinrich Marlow, who combined the highest dramatic art with shrewd executive ability. Together they carried the season to a brilliant conclusion and secured definite reappointment for the following year. The best offerings of the season were Hartleben's cycle, "Die Befreiten," Hauptmann's "Gabriel Schillings Flucht," Schmidtbonn's "Mutter Landstrasse," and Rudolf Herzog's "Condottieri."

The season that followed (1913-14), during which the same trio was in power, and the season that began in the fall of 1914, managed by Rudolf Christians, are still too fresh in the memory to require extended comment. The artistic and successful reproductions in 1913-14 of "Faust," of Molnar's "Leibgardist," and of Schnitzler's "Professor Bernhardi" are well remembered. Another event that marked the season as a particularly successful one was the first performance in the United States of Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion." The performances of this play were attended by all lovers of literature, regardless of their nationality. The same statement holds true for the wonderful presentation of Sophocles' "Oedipus" that was given in the spring of 1914 by members of the Irving Place company in the Metropolitan Opera House.

Since the last eight or ten years the quality of the work at the theater has admittedly been on the decline. There were temporary changes for the better, especially under Baumfeld, but on the whole more ground has been lost than gained. The time is now ripe, however, for a reaction, and indeed, this has already set in. Performances of such plays as were mentioned above, by a company that is excellent and well rounded in every respect, are only the links which must form a new chain.

It has been in part the aim of this paper to emphasize the influence of the German theater on the American stage,

to reveal the differences between German and American theatrical conditions and to describe the functions of the German theater as an educational force in this country. A word more might be said with reference to the last problem. The German theater, probably more than any other theater in New York, has fulfilled an educational function. It has helped to keep alive in German immigrants a love for their native literature. It has helped, also, to furnish the second and third generations of German-Americans with a better understanding of the land of their fathers. Finally, it has done much to acquaint non-Germans with German drama and with the German theater in general.

By virtue of its excellent work the German theater has become a fixed institution in the American metropolis. In spite of repeated prophecies as to its failure, it has held its place for over half a century. It is safe to say that as long as a German element continues to exist in New York, as long as this class feels an intellectual bond with the Fatherland, the theater wil maintain its high position.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF A FORTYEIGHTER

By Major Frederick Behlendorff

PREFATORY NOTE

The author of these recollections was born July 4, 1829 at Dresden, Saxony, where his father occupied a high position in the Protestant Church. Young Behlendorff received his early education in the famous Fürstenschule of Meissen and afterwards studied law at the University of Leipzig. After the failure of the revolutionary uprising in Saxony in 1849, in which he participated, he emigated to America where he followed various occupation until the outbreak of the civil war. He then enlisted as a regular in the United States army at St. Louis, was sent to Newport Barracks, Ky., and a battalion of unassigned General Service Recruits, took part in the first campaign in Missouri under General Nathaniel Lyon and fought in various engagements and battles, such as the battle of Wilson's Creek. After the return of Lyon's army to St. Louis in September 1861, the battalion of regular recruits, greatly reduced by losses and wholesale desertions, was disbanded as a body of regular troops and the few remaining men, among them Behlendorff, re-enlisted in Volunteer regiments. Behlendorff entered the 13th Illinois Cavalry in September 1861 as a private, was promoted Major in 1864 and finally received the appointment as Assistant Inspector General of the 1st Brig. Cavalry Division 7th Army Corps in the same year. After the war he was appointed Inspector of Customs and afterwards Deputy Collector of Customs at Chicago. He received this appointment as a reward for his courageous efforts in bringing about the exposure and conviction of a number of custom house officials, among them Charles L. Pullman, who had defrauded the government of large sums



Major Frederick Behlendorff

of money. He resigned his commission in 1872 and settled in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he died in 1889.

Aside from the general value which Major Behlendorff's Recollections possess as a human document they throw interesting light on contemporary historical events as well as upon the state of civilization existing both in Germany and in this country during this period. We obtain a vivid picture of the stifling atmosphere prevailing in Germany before the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 and of the attitude of mind which this atmosphere produced in active young men of unruly, headstrong and adventurous disposition such as the writer seems to have possessed. No less instructive is the description of the general conditions of American life which confronted the educated German immigrant on his arrival here at this time. It was under similar conditions and in equally crude surroundings of frontier life that thousands of cultivated fortyeighters were compelled to make their way or fall by the wayside, as untold numbers did. The writer's account of the state of affairs in the regular army at the time of the outbreak of the civil war, and of the unspeakable hardships, the difficulties and the butalities with which this war was waged, makes wholesome reading in these times of indignant outcries against the "atrocities" of European warfare. Among the historical events which Behlendorff relates as an eyewitness his story of the revolutionary fights at Dresden and of the battle at Wilson's creek deserve the attention of historians.

J. G.

Chapter I.

European Experiences.

I came to America in order to get rid of my ancestors, because I took it for granted, that this is the land where you can begin without any. This may sound peculiar, still it was a fact and I will explain it.

From my earliest boyhood up my education had been so directed as to prepare me for one of the professions;

my inclinations were not consulted. When I was 8 years old, I was thoroughly grounded in Latin grammar and began the study of Cornelius Nepos and Julius Caesar. Soon after I was fed on Greek and could repeat the songs of Anacreon. Later on I tried to comprehend the odes of Horace, which contain a lot of wordly wisdom, such as is acquired only in the actual life of an adult person of mature years. The immortal poems of Homer, the Odyssey and the Iliad delighted me and destroyed at the same time any lurking belief in Christianity, that might have still remained in my breast. The study of the classics kills all that. If any doubts were left about the absurdity of the Christian fables, they were thoroughly dissipated by Virgil's Aeneid, by Ovid's Metamorphoses and his book "Amores." The study of Tacitus und Livius I regarded as a punishment and the compulsory reading of the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides as an absolute torture. The world of Oedipus did not interest me. All this time—that is—during the six years of my imprisonment within the walls of the Royal College of St. Afra at Meissen, in the Kingdom of Saxony, my soul sighed for liberty and relief from books. The native activity of a young man shut up with books receives a shock or setting back, which nothing in after life can ever fully eradicate; you are forced to become a bookworm, instead of training for the difficulties of actual life. The energy of young life is directed in channels so foreign and diametrically opposed to modern institutions, that practical life presents many unsurmountable difficulties to the mere students. Such an education produces impractical men. I saw this at a very early date and tried to stem this tide by the practical study of the English language, which in the times of which I speak did not form part of our education. They crammed us with French and induced thereby only a morbid hankering after Eugene Sue's stories of the Wandering Jew, and Alexander Dumas' "Les trois Mousquetaires" and such trash. These stories we read on the sly in the hours which should have been devoted to a preparation for our recitals in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Geo-

metry and Algebra. I procured an English grammar and Dictionary and a copy of the "Vicar of Wakefield" by Goldsmith and hammered the English into my head by hard work during the hours of prayer and in church and during any free hours, of which there were not many. The study of English opened new visions to me and directed my attention more and more to that land of supposed liberty "the United States of America." My aims from that time were all set in the direction of a new life unfettered by antecedents and by the vigorous rules of an ironclad civilization, which allowed no breach of the conventionalities. University life disgusted me—the Codex Justinianus seemed to me the grave of all nobler aspirations, the often repeated and mechanically delivered lectures of the men whom I then considered sleepy old professors, contained nothing to inspire me. I finally quitted them entirely and perfected my study of modern languages.

In the old country no avenue of promotion in life was open to me *except* through and with the help of my family and our connections. Whereever I looked I perceived that I would be in leading strings for 15 or 20 years to come. No independence. The prospect before me was such that I would have to depend on my father for assistance for a long while, even after I had entered on professional life, no matter which profession I might choose. There was no better expectation, even if I had succeeded in getting into one of the Government offices. In the first 5 years officers of the lower grades in Government Bureaus had to work for nothing and later on for very small pay—not sufficient to cover the expenses of economical bachelor life. For this reason officials of this class in the old country are rarely enabled to marry before they are about 40 years old. Such a state of long continued dependence did not suit me at all. All my aims and desires were directed to a land where *individual* exertion would bring success and promotion in life. My acquaintance with several young Americans who were studying at that time in the academies and colleges of my native country, helped to inspire me with a hope for

a better existence in America, and a desire to be freed from the restraint of the conventional mummification of European civilization. Young men of the old country appeared to me like mummies and puppets, bound as they were in the folds of eternal supervision, and pulled by strings behind the scenes.

Then came the momentous period of European revolutions in the years 1848 and 1849 and I was drawn into the vortex of political life. In my native city this resulted in the violent outbreak of the revolutionary party in May 1849, in the seizure of the capital city of Dresden by the rebels and expulsion of the king.—At the first sound of the guns I left Leipzig und took my stand on the barricades with 150 other students, after we had stormed the arsenal and armed ourselves. This occurred on May 4th, 1849 and by May 5th 20 000 rebels had thrown up barricades in the older parts of the city and fortified all the salient points against the combined attack of the royal Saxon and Prussian troops. These soon invested the city, and then commenced a series of fights from houses and barricades, which lasted until May 12th, during which time each house and each barricade had to be taken singly with great slaughter. The royal troops would open with canister and round shot from their batteries, while their musketry fire was directed against our sharpshooters stationed at the barricaded windows of houses, churches, palaces and museums. The Prussians here employed their newly invented needle guns for the first time and their rapid firing drove us from all positions until they would finish by a bayonet charge directed against our barricades, which we evacuated one after another, until we were almost surrounded and compelled to leave the city by the only avenue not yet in the hands of the enemy. This siege and defense of the city of Dresden, one of the most beautiful capitals of Europe, does not figure very largely in the historical works of the day, because it was an awful humiliation to the crowned heads of Europe to know that the rebels held the capital of a monarch's state, had forced the king to fly

in disguise and braved the valor of the best troops in Germany. This revolution was headed by substantial citizens and supported by armed men from all ranks of life. It was not a mere rabble, but principally the young men from the agricultural districts, mechanics, and some students. A provisional government had been established consisting of a triumvirate, of which the burgomaster of the city of Adorf, in the district of Plauen, was the centre. His name was Tod. His next colleague was a lawyer from the city of Bautzen by the name of Tschirner, and the third was the military leader of the movement, a Russian exile. The older portion of the city of Dresden called the "Altstadt" (the old city) — the theater of this rebellion—is compactly built of stone houses and contains the main business portion of the capital, the best churches, the principal hotels, theaters, postoffice, public buildings of all kinds, the Royal Arsenal, the king's palace, a wonderful Catholic cathedral built of sandstone and numerous world-renowned museums and picture galleries. All these were in the possession of the rebels, who had opened continuous passageways through the walls of the houses built close to each other, by which means both sides of the streets were turned into one long line of fortifications. From these the rebels opened fire on the advancing troops. Thus it came about that the different stories of each house and each barricade (constructed in the middle and at both ends of the streets) had to be taken singly, the rebels stubbornly contesting every inch of ground and giving way only when overpowered by the superior fire arms of the Prussians and the artillery.—It was a repetition of the siege of Saragossa in Spain, where the French had to take each house singly. Women took part in the fighting in Dresden und poured boiling water and pitch on the heads of the advancing Royal troops. Altogether it was rather lively and the streets were filled with the dead and the dying. I was first stationed behind one of the principal barricades erected near the outlet of the "Wilsdruffer Road"—a business street opening out on the square in which the postoffice stands. Several men were

shot near me and among them a young man from Bautzen who had been followed by his sweetheart. We carried his dead body into the adjoining house which contained at that time a famous restaurant. Here the young woman divested the corpse of her betrothed of his uniform which she donned herself. She took up his rifle and ammunition and followed us behind the barricade. The fire of the troops opposed to us was terrific and in a short time the young woman was wounded in the side. Hardly had we carried her inside of the house, when the enemy came with a rush and carried the barricade by a bayonet charge. We had just time to escape to the next fortification in the middle of the street and could not take the young woman along. She fell wounded into the hands of the Prussians and was made a prisoner. Later on I learned that she (like the rest of the prisoners) was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in a fortress. Her name was "Pauline Wunderlich."

The cannonading had a peculiar effect on me. The solid shot fell harmless from the massive flagstones, which we had piled up in front of our barricades and as we dared not lift our heads above the crest, I fell asleep several times, until the enemy resorted to shells. The bursting of the shells would wake me up and I would take to firing again out of the fire loopholes left in the body of the barricade. Then a rush of the troops would follow and some of us not quick enough to escape, would be bayonetted. During the night we would sit around watch fires with a barrel of wine close by and eat and drink, a thing which we could not do in day time. Some of the troops, exasperated at the desperate resistance, would follow the rebels up to the fourth and fifth stories of the houses, on to the roofs and if any were caught, they were bayonetted and some even thrown from roofs of the houses. Finally nothing remained to us but the barricades around the principal square, or piazza, on which the court house fronted and one road open toward the south, by which we could get out of the city. Before day-break on the 12th day of May it became necessary to evacuate the city, but some of the rebels held points of

strength to the last, the great mass, however, had some difficulty in escaping and many were taken prisoners in the city and in the country where they were pursued by the military. All in all some 10 or 15 thousand rebels were taken prisoners and all confined—none for less than 10 years. I escaped by throwing away my arms and hurrying with all speed toward the Bohemian frontier. Even at this time Dresden shows some traces of the conflict. Fifteen years later an act of Royal amnesty was issued.

The city of Dresden is divided in two parts by the river Elbe, which is spanned by several magnificent bridges built of sandstone. On the left bank is the "Altstadt" and on the right bank is the "Neustadt," the new city. Here my parents resided. They had heard of my leaving Leipzig, but did not expect me to join the rebels. One of my brothers managed to cross the river in a boat in the night of the 5th of May in order to induce me to leave, while there was still time, but I refused. While he was talking to me, the Prussian bullets came crashing through the windows of the room in which we were standing and I had some trouble to get rid of my brother and make him go back across the river again. Later I learned how my sorrowing mother had searched in the 22 hospitals established in Dresden to receive the wounded, in the vain hope of finding me. My father was at first not inclined to forgive me, but he relented and provided me with means to go to America. My father was an officer of the crown and a man in high position and connections. The whole family were on the royal side, and I was the only rebel among them. Consider the effect of my assisting in the capture of the capital and of my participation in bringing about the flight of a tremulous old king. The cause of this rebellion was the refusal of the king to accept the constitution of the National German Parliament then sitting in Frankfort on the Main. The constitution guaranteed the freedom of the press and other liberties consistent with a grand National Union of all the German States; but the hour of this union had not yet come. What we, the Rebels of 1848 and 1849, attempted, came

about under a new baptism of blood, after the French Emperor had fallen a prisoner into the hands of the combined German armies at Sedan in September 1870, and after the French armies had been wiped out.

Chapter II.

The So-called New World.

To the Spaniards America might really have seemed a new world. The gentle savages of the West Indian islands —the original Carribeans—possessed all the freshness of a newly discovered race, and the luxurious tropical vegetation excelled in beauty the barren aspects of the Castilian and Andalusian highlands. Even the Puritans, who landed more than a century afterwards on the shores of New England, found the original forests intact and graced by the festoons of the native grape, while the copperskinned aborigines confronted them with tomahawk and arrows and disputed the possession of the land. But the European who now lands at Castle Garden in New York discovers no new world. Everything he sees and hears disgusts him. He sees nothing new—he meets the evidences of the same civilization which he left. His new countrymen stand ready to receive and swindle him, if he is not smart enough to make an immediate dive into the interior.

On coming to New York I at once burned all my letters of introduction, of which I had a number addressed to distinguished people in New York and Philadelphia. There was no use in delivering the letters when I determined to paddle my own canoe. I made my way westward, going by rail as far as Harrisburg, Pa., which at that time was the jumping off place, no railroads having been built farther west at that period (1849-1850). The great Far West commenced at that time immediately after one had left the last Railroad station in the East. I crossed the Alleghanies on foot and admired the scenery along the Susquehannah, the Juniata, the Mononghahela and the Alleghany rivers, until I struck the valley of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. In walking through

Pennsylvania nothing new struck my eyes; the immense barns of the farmers did not differ much from the Quaker meeting houses in appearance. Everything had a homelike air and when you listened to the conversation of the farmers and the townspeople you felt yourself transplanted back to the "Palatinate"—the Rheinpfalz—to Bavaria—to the Neckar and to Suabia—"Schwabenland". This was not Yankeeland.

The people called themselves "Pennsylvania Dutch," and a glorious stock it is. The gigantic size of the men, the immense development of breast and shoulders, the legs and the "Teutonic" language were of the old German fatherland, and I resented only the corrupted name of "Dutch"—a corruption of "Deutsch" or of "Deutschland" —the land of Tuisco. I at once realized the immense impetus, which a new soil and untrammelled freedom had imparted to the purity of my own race. The giants I met on the road, the women who greeted me, all spoke my mother tongue, but they were the children of a liberated race that had acquired additional stamina from an unlimited supply of excellent food and from the unsullied waters of the mountains. There is no better proof for the genuine purity of a race to be found, than that which comes with the cultivation of a new soil. Later I witnessed the same thing in Illinois where I often had the chance to compare the parents who had emigrated from the old country and who in most cases bore the traces of unremitting toil in bent forms and uninviting features, with their own children born and raised on American soil. Here they had grown up straight as pines, strong as mountain ashes and fair and comely to look at. To style this country the new world is a misnomer. In a geological sense America is now considered the oldest continent. Europe and Asia were under the waters, at a time when the Rocky Mountains reared their crests heavenwards. Men lived in America 30,000 years before the supposed advent of Adam. In descending the Ohio I came across the stupendous earthworks of the moundbuilders, that mysterious race, which once had

peopled the whole of the Mississippi valley. I saw the ruins of an extensive and apparently densely populated prehistoric city in New Madrid County, Missouri, just south of the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. The streets and ruins of a city and of fortifications can be traced for several miles. There are indubitable evidences of remains of mounds, which had served the purposes of watch towers or of cemeteries or both, in which repose skeletons, drinking vessels and other relics. Pottery ornamented with accurate representations of fish, frogs, hedgehogs and birds is found in abundance. These relics are all the historic tracer of the people who once occupied the city. The present Indians know nothing about these people. That city was probably in ruins long before the period assigned to the creation by the Adamic theory. The mound builders were a much more civilized race of people than the present Indian tribes. They smelted copper and made it into tools and they wove cloth.

The river steamer on which I made my way into the interior of the continent, after passing Cairo, Illinois, went up the Mississippi River and accidently caught fire, while making a landing at Cape Girardeau, Missouri. In trying to save my effects by throwing them into a boat of the steamer, trailing at the stern, I came very nearly being mobbed by a party of Irish emigrants, who pretended that I was going to monopolize the means of leaving the vessel, while the gang planks were actually out. I was rescued from violence only by the interference of the mate. He cautioned me to leave the vessel, as the Irish meant to rob me eventually. I did so and went ashore. At this place, Cape Girardeau, I worked my first day in America, doing the work of a common laborer at 75 cents a day, making mortar, carrying bricks and finally helping to quarry stone. Nothing delighted me more than to be able, to earn my own living. But it took some time before I could persuade people to let me work, for they looked at my hands and finding them white and soft concluded, that I would not do. However they accepted me on trial and I persevered and earned my money honestly. I do believe that nothing has ever

given me greater pleasure than when I was able to buy a new pair of boots out of my own money. Heretofore my father had to provide all these things and as there was a large family he complained some times when our footwear gave out.

In my leisure hours I read Prescotts "Conquest of Mexico" and compared the ways and manners of the modern emigrant with the martial tramp of the ironclad Spaniards under Cortez, who came to subjugate the country, kill the Indians and take their gold. There is only one resemblance between Fernando Cortez and the modern emigrant of the 19th century. Like Cortez, who in August, 1519 destroyed 10 vessels of his fleet of 11 in the harbor of Vera Cruz, the modern emigrant cuts off all bridges and destroys all means of connection with his former home when he sets foot in the country of his adoption. Very few even correspond any more with friends at home, except at long intervals. Their future fate is connected now with the common weal and woe of the great Republic, and they profit by a close connection with the generous nation that receives them. As Cortez burned his ships, so I burned my letters of introduction. But my correspondence with the relations in the old country I have continued for nearly 40 years.

My next experience was farming, which in my case meant doing farm work for a farmer in South-East Missouri. I learned to plow and to cultivate corn, to plant and hoe sweet potatoes, to handle the axe, cut timber, make rails and set up an occasional blockhouse. I could have stood the work, but the food was not calculated to give one strength and sufficient nourishment. Greens and salt pork for dinner, saleratus biscuit in place of bread, cornbread and weak coffee with salt pork for breakfast and saltpork and biscuits for supper. My stomach was not as yet prepared for such a diet. Yet I worked on different farms for nearly two years and I must say that I was kindly treated.

CHAPTER III.

The South and New Orleans.

From Missouri I drifted gradually further South and finally into Louisiana. If I had not been so inexperienced and still so 'green', I might have enjoyed the blessings of the North. But the spirit of adventure drove me into a kind of hell of which I had no previous conception. If any one wants to find out what hell on earth is, let him go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, Louisiana in the hot summer season with small means and when the malaria of the swamps it at its height. For those who have never been in the southern part of the Mississippi valley nor in New Orleans, it is well to state here that this city, situated as it is on the left bank of the Great River amidst lakes, swamps and morasses, is actually some 10 feet lower than the level of the water in the Mississippi, when there is high-water. The great dykes, called levees in the South, protect the country, and whenever a break occurs in these levees, the water rushes with mad, resistless force down into the lowlands. Any one approaching New Orleans in the early summer months on a River steamer sees to his astonishment the city way below the level of the water, while the boat seems to hang in the air. Nowadays the traveller arrives at the city by the Jackson and N. O. R. R. and is hardly aware of these facts. Many travellers also stop only a few hours in the city and do not learn the particularly revolting details connected with the situation of the city on a strip of land, that is more or less half under water. There are no wells in the city. If you dig one foot into the ground, however, you obtain water, but it is brackish and unfit for use. All the water for cooking or drinking purposes is either taken out of the Mississippi, which at this point carries such an enormous amount of detritus, that one third of the water is solid matter held in solution, or out of cisterns constructed above ground. On examination worms 8 inches long are found in the rainwater and a multitude of smaller insects and infusoria. No amount of filtering

will make such water pure. The sides of those cisterns are covered inside with a green slime and a scum of greenish filth mixed with insect life is seen on the top of the water. No wonder that hardly any water is drunk.

At the time I speak of nobody in New Orleans ever drank any water. The French clarets were so cheaply imported that a passably good bottle of St. Julien or Medoc or Bordeaux wine could be had for 10 cents or a shilling (12½ cents) and a pint for six pence (6¾ cents), called a picayune. No import duty was levied before 1861 on any wines or liquor. The vessels which came to take the cotton away brought the French wine in big casks as ballast, charging frequently no freight. The profit of the voyage was made on the return cargo of cotton. Everybody drank wine then. With every meal served in a hotel or restaurant you received a pint of claret, included in the price of board or meal.

Everything else was cheap in proportion. The finest oysters, some as big as a hand, sold on the strand fresh from the oyster schooners, opened in your presence at a shilling a dozen. Try to go to sleep in the hot season in New Orleans at your accustomed hour—say 10 o'clock at night. You will find it impossible. There is no letting up of the heat, that prevailed during the day. The thermometer frequently ranges as high as 90 late into the night. The air is stifling and unfit to breathe; the miasma of the swamps, held down by the rays of the sun in daytime, rises at night and poisons you. Mosquitos of the most ferocious breed will get in the best secured houses and under the mosquito nets spread around the fourpost bedsteads. The windows must be shut on account of the dangerous night air. Sleep is impossible except between 3 and 5 o'clock a. m. when just before the rising of the sun, a breeze sets in from the Gulf, which brings some coolness and freshens up drooping spirits. The nights in New Orleans are spent by the greater portion of the population in cafés, saloons, gardens and verandas, under the roofs of the airy rooms opened on all sides and a vast amount of wine, beer and spirits is consumed. I hardly ever went to bed before 3 o'clock in the

morning. Just as it is impossible to dig any wells, just so it is impossible to dig any graves and anybody who dies in New Orleans is buried above ground. At the time, I speak of (before 1860) the cemeteries were located within the confines of the city and consisted of long rows of brick sepulchres, resembling bake ovens. They were from 4 to 6 stories high with opening in front to admit the coffins, which are shoved in the narrow aperture precisely as a baker shoves in his bread. The openings are then bricked up. In these badly constructed vaults the corpses literally undergo a process of baking, as the fierce sun beats down on them and liberates the most noisome gases. During eight months in the year the heat is such that these bake ovens crack open and emit the terrible stenches, which first greet the newcomer so unpleasantly and to which much of the sickness in the city must be attributed. A breeze coming from the direction of these mouldy cemeteries carries the deadly poison all over the city of the Mississippi delta.

Is there any wonder, that yellow fever epidemics prevailed to an alarming extent in former times, when a 100,000 corpses baked and stewed above ground in the heart of a great city?

The deposit of moisture is such that pocket knives rust in your pockets inside of 24 hours and that your boots and shoes, if left standing untouched for half that time, assume a greenish coating of mildew. Anyone can now estimate the consequences of such a climate on the human body. The most deadly fevers attack a stranger from the north, a greenhorn, within a few days after his arrival and if he has no friends to look after him, he may be carted away to one of those bakeovens within one week after landing. I was hardly one week in New Orleans when I was struck down by a vicious kind of malaria fever, which they call down there "breakbone fever." A better name could not be invented. It is a combination of fever and ague, inflammatory rheumatism, typhoid malaria, and congestion of the liver with continual racking pains in all parts of the body. The patient suffers the tortures of the damned. The best

description fails to give a picture of the utter misery attending a case of breakbone fever. I felt as if I were broken on the wheel. When the cold spell comes on, the fury of the malaria poison in the blood is such that the whole body becomes almost rigid with pain and is lifted up and thrown back on the bed in the paroxysms of the shaker.

In this way the summer of 1858 came around and with it a very serious outbreak of yellow fever. During the preceding winter and spring months I had somewhat recovered from that dreadful attack of breakbone fever and had begun to enjoy life a little in the southern metropolis. I was careful to regulate my diet. I committed no excesses and observed all the rules laid down by experience as necessary for the avoidance of the consequences of the climate. One day in August 1858 I went over the shell road to Lake Pontchartrain with a friend, where we hired a fishing schooner and her crew to take us on a cruise. It was fearfully hot—the thermometer outstripped the 100 mark and when about several miles from shore we stripped and jumped into the clear water from the deck of the schooner for a swim. The water of this lake is so clear that at a depth of 30 feet you can see the clear fine sand and the pebbles at the bottom. We had sported for half an hour like whales, enjoying our bath immensely, when our fisherman called us on board and asked us to be in hurry, for a storm was coming. We could see nothing but a small black speck way down near the line of the horizon. The rest of the heavens was a brazen vault of blue and not a breath of wind was stirring. The sails of the schooner hung down listlessly without any motion and the vessel was becalmed. But the master of the vessel was right, nevertheless, for hardly had we clambered on board, than a low rippling sound came over the waves and in less than five minutes the whole sky was overcast by a great black cloud driven before a furious squall. It struck the vessel before we could get our clothes on. Inside of ten minutes from the time we had left the water the thermometer fell from above 100 down to 55 degrees Fahrenheit. The rain fell in torrents and our fisher-

men had some quick work to do, to get the schooner back to port. This port on Lake Pontchartrain is famous for its fine restaurants and is connected by a six mile railroad with New Orleans beside the shellroad, which is the finest macadamized road in existence and called so because it is wholly constructed from broken oyster shells—making an exceedingly smooth and dustless drive bordered on both sides by the native forests of the swamp lands intervening between the city and the lake. My companion was bound to make this day a time of extravagant pleasure and insisted on the enjoyment of a regular fish dinner with wine of different kinds. While the storm raged outside, we filled up the inner man to an alarming degree. In a drenching rain we finally made our way to the railroad depot and discovered that we had stopped sweating. Now I had been told, that such symptoms meant something serious in a latitude and climate of the Mississippi delta. Soon we had experienced a most unpleasant chill and before we reached the city we both had a high fever. I advised my friend to go to his hotel at once, to send for a doctor and try to recover his perspiration by going to bed immediately and drinking hot tea and hot lemonade. But he only laughed and went to his favorite haunts, drinking and carousing. He thought he could induce the sweating to come back by such means, but he only inflamed his system more and more and in 36 hours he was dead. I went to my boarding house, called my landlady, a very motherly person and a long resident of this feverstricken country, and put myself in her hands. She hurried me to bed, gave me some timely medicine and filled me up with the hottest elder-flower tea, I could swallow. A small mountain of blankets were piled on me, until I thought I could not breathe, but it brought back the perspiration and broke the first furious attack of the fever that followed. For 10 weeks I lay partly conscious of my surroundings, and became so weak, that I could not walk when I first tried to get up again. I do not believe that I should have been able to pull through if it had not been for the unremitting attentions of my landlady, who cared

for me as if I had been her own son.—By this time all my money was gone and one day I remember sitting disconsolate in Lafayette square on one of the benches with just one six pence in my pocket and no work, or hardly any strength as yet to do any serious work.

Chapter IV.

Before the Outbreak of the War.

With my last money I bought a newspaper. Something in it inspired me with new hope and I determined to find work. For a stranger this is a most difficult thing in a large city, where he stands alone without any connections. I had come from the North and this alone was sufficient to bar me out in most places. However at last I secured a situation as bookkeeper for a manufacturer and importer of furniture. At this time most of the finer furniture was imported from France. The southern planters lived in a most luxurious style, and fabulous sums were spent on the interior decoration and furniture of the palaces erected by the cotton lords. My employer imported the frames for chairs, sofas, bedsteads and other articles of furniture, which he would finish and upholster with the most magnificent satins, silk and velvet fabrics, also imported. I soon found out that he received duplicate invoices for these goods.

During all this time the preparations on the part of the southern leaders and slaveholders for a grand rebellion had been going forward in the winter of 1859 and spring of 1860. A great number of military companies were formed, not only in New Orleans but all over the South, and incessant drilling was the order of the day. Any man not willing to support the cause of the south and to defend slavery was tabooed. I soon received a call to declare myself openly by being invited to join one of the newly formed militia companies. This I refused. From this time forward my employer found fault with nearly every thing I did. He accused me of siding with his rebellious sons, of being an abolitionist and a traitor to the South. He discharged me

without warning and without paying me my last month's wages. I sued him before a Justice of the Peace. Although my case was very clear and although it was shown that the money was due to me, I could obtain no justice, for the magistrate was a slaveholder like my employer and decided against me.

All my endeavors to obtain other work were fruitless, and I was publicly threatened with violence in consequence of my northern sentiments. One night I was attacked on Canal Street by three men and escaped with difficulty. I called for help, finally beating off my assailants with a stout stick and with the help of a policeman who came at the right moment. This man advised me to leave the city as I would otherwise surely be murdered. After this the violence exhibited towards men with northern sympathies increased from day to day. Men were driven from the city by force and innumerable outrages committed in the name of the law. Arbitrary arrests were made and some men even murdered in prison.

This was also the time of the filibustering expeditions organized by Wm. Walker for the conquest of Central America. Commencing with the year 1857 and up to 1859 fully 10,000 men left New Orleans and various other southern ports and joined the grey-eyed man of destiny, as he was called, in Nicaragua, where he had established himself, after much fighting. It was a time of extreme commercial depression and there was no lack of adventures, although the climate and everything else was against them. Walker was finally driven out of Nicaragua and the bones of fully 5000 Americans bleach on the sands of the lake of the same name. Walker's last attempt was in Honduras in 1860 and on the socalled Mosquito coast where he became involved with the English. He was finally shot in the spring of 1860 near Traxillo, Honduras. This ended the last attempt of the slaveholders to extend slavery, for it was the avowed object of these expeditions to secure new territory for the extension of slavery. Wm. Walker was to the South, what John Brown was to the North. Both were fanatical

leaders and possessed of one idea. The first wanted to extend and perpetuate slavery, the second wanted to abolish it by an insurrection. Both suffered death as a punishment for the breaking of international law. Walker was shot and Brown was hanged.

Chapter V.

With the Union Army.

I got away from New Orleans with much difficulty and went north on board a steamboat bound for St. Louis. There was no chance whatsoever to get any work; business was at a standstill and the signs of a coming revolution were multiplying. Everything pointed to civil war. In the early spring of 1860, I therefore enlisted in the regular army and was sent with a lot of other recruits to Newport Barracks, Kentucky. The first officer who took us in hand was a young lieutenant, Fitz Hugh Lee, son of Robert E. Lee. He was a gentleman and treated us well, but he resigned in the fall of 1860 and in his place came a big, black-browed tyrant, Lieutenant Lothrop of the 4th Artillery. The defection of such officers as Lee and others of southern birth ought to have warned the government that something unusual was going on. But Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War and the chief conspirator and traitor, who directed the gigantic incipient rebellion from Washington and placed arms, cannons, ammunitions of war and whole arsenals so that they would fall an easy prey to the Confederates, when the signal gun against Fort Sumter was fired.

In February, 1861, a battalion of general service recruits was transferred from Kentucky to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. I was a member of company A and under Lieutenant Lothrop's command. Jefferson Barracks is within a few miles of St. Louis and beautifully situated on the right bank of the Mississippi. The arsenal of St. Louis was threatened and in danger of falling into the hands of the rebels. It contained immense stores of arms of all kinds, principally Springfield rifles, which shortly afterward were turned over to the volun-

teer regiments of Illinois and Missouri. On the 16th day of February, 1861, the battalion of 3 companies U. S. recruits for general service were transferred to the U. S. Arsenal at St. Louis, Mo. Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the 2nd Infantry was placed in command of the arsenal and Captain Frederick Steele later assumed command of our battalion.

Governor Jackson of Missouri had established a camp of instruction in St. Louis, and a brigade of the State guards, under General Frost, commenced drilling and assumed an offensive attitude almost in sight of the arsenal. The secessionists made daily threats that they would soon seize not only all government property in the city, but also the arsenal and the custom house and postoffice. Captain Lyon was before them, however, and on May 10, 1860, he surrounded Camp Jackson so completely with the force of regulars and the German volunteers under his command, that he bagged the whole of General Frost's brigade. Lyon's force numbered at that time about 4,000 men. Camp Jackson was located in the western part of the city at what is known as Lindell's Grove. Lyon's batteries were planted on the heights overlooking the camp and were well supported by infantry which stretched in long lines on all sides of the camp. The demand of Lyon was for an "immediate surrender," to which General Frost was forced to comply. His whole brigade was disarmed and officers and soldiers marched as prisoners to the arsenal where the next day they were released, the officers on parole and the enlisted men on their oaths not to fight against the United States during the war. In the camp we found six field pieces and the equipments for a 6-gun battery, 1,200 muskets, 25 kegs of powder and about 40 horses. We also captured there three thirty-two pounder siege guns, one mortar, three mortar beds and a large supply of shot and shell, all of which had been recently taken from the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, arsenal by the rebels there and shipped to St. Louis. This was the first United States property recaptured during the war.

In trying to march the prisoners to the arsenal the United States troops under Lyon were attacked by a mob of Secessionists who fired into the rear ranks composed of the Third

Missouri volunteers, with shot guns, rifles and pistols. The volunteers returned the fire and twenty-five were killed or wounded; some of them being innocent people. The whole city had turned out to witness the capture of Camp Jackson. The prisoners marched in double file between two files of regular infantry. One half of the population of St. Louis were determined secessionists and the United States troops were everywhere treated with expressions of the greatest hatred. Finely dressed ladies would even loudly insult us by shouting the vilest names from the porches and windows of houses in the finest residence portion of the city. We had to pass through the aristocratic thoroughfares and their residents were all in accord with the rebel sentiments of our prisoners. But the regular soldiers preserved a perfectly cool behavior opposite this storm of malignity and hatred. All the hooting and yelling and throwing of stones did not disconcert us in the least.

The main fury of the Secessionists, however, concentrated itself on the German volunteers of the newly raised Ninety days regiments and on the home guards. St. Louis had been the sceneo of bloody outrages during the "know-nothing" excitement of 1854 and against the Germans; the same sentiment cropped out again in 1861. The next evening, after the capture of Camp Jackson, as 1,200 home guards, mostly Germans, who had been sworn into the United States service during the day and armed at the arsenal, were returning to their camp in the northern part of the city, great crowds of secessionists collected on the streets, hooted and hissed them and fired into their ranks, killing one soldier and wounding several others. When the head of the column reached Seventh street the soldiers suddenly turned and fired a volley down the street, killing two citizens and wounding six. Several soldiers were also killed in the melee.

All these occurrences somewhat dampened the exultation of the Unionists at the success of the 10th of May. This happened to fall on a Friday and even today it is called "Black Friday" in St. Louis. We regulars looked on stolidly and felt that we were more or less on a tremendous spree, not-

withstanding the fact that smallpox had broken out at the arsenal. I saw several of my comrades taken with the disease and die of the same. It was a gruesome spectacle. A wholesale vaccination followed. I had the honor to be arrested by old Captain Nath. Lyon himself at this time, when I attempted to get out of the arsenal into the city without a pass. He had been elected brigadier-general of the command which had been organized in a few days, but remained the same plain man which he always had been. He was a good disciplinarian without the fiendish cruelty practiced by Lieutenant Lothrop, the commander of the company to which I belonged, who, on a slight breach of discipline, would seize a teamster's whip and lash a refractory soldier. The prompt action of Captain Lyon had saved the city of St. Louis and the arsenal from falling into the hands of the secessionists and although Missouri continued to be overrun by rebels during the four years of the war that followed, the state remained in the Union. In no other state did such a bitter feeling between the two parties exist. Villages and towns were wiped out by the opposing factions and no less than 54 pitched battles were fought on Missouri's soil alone. The force of regulars at the arsenal in St. Louis on the tenth of May, 1861, amounted to 484 men and 9 officers.

On the thirtieth day of May Frank Blair demanded of the President the removal of General Harney, because he continued to be opposed to all decisive measures. The order for his removal came on the 31st of May, and the command of the Department of the West was turned over to Lyon. In the meantime the railroad bridges over the Osage and Gasconade rivers had been burned by Price, when he heard that Lyon was preparing to march on Jefferson City, the capital of the state. The secessionists then removed the state treasury to a place of safety and Price retired to Lexington, Mo., while at Booneville General Clark commanded the Missouri State Troops raised by Governor Jackson to defend the state against the Unionists under Lyon. The burning of the bridges did not prevent Lyon from embarking his troops on transports and taking them by way of the Missouri river to Jefferson City.

These troops were Totten Battery F, Second United States Artillery, Company B, Second United States Infantry, 2 companies of Recruits, Blair's Regiment of First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and 9 companies of Boernstein's Regiment of the Second Missouri Infantry. The transports arrived at Jefferson City, Mo., on Saturday, June 15th, at two o'clock in the afternoon and took possession of the city, the state forces having left for Booneville farther up the river. Part of Boernstein's regiment was left to occupy and hold the city, while Lyon proceeded with 1,700 men further up the river, on Sunday, June 16th. Eight miles below Booneville he disembarked most of the troops and marched overland, leaving only a small guard on the boats with instructions to follow him to Booneville by river. On the morning of June 17th we encountered the skirmishers of the state troops under Marmaduke, after we had advanced two miles on the river road towards Booneville. Before long we arrived in the neighborhood of the camp, just outside of the city. The state troops here made a show of resistance, but most of them ran as soon as Totten's battery dropped shells among them. My company was in immediate support of the battery, but when we saw the rebels making hot haste to get out of the cornfields in which they had formed and, running through the camp, we charged right down in the camp, firing as we went. In the sack of the camp that followed I was one of the first in the tents of the Quartermaster General of the rebel outfit, and captured for my share one box of army shoes, several blankets and a case of bowie knives. I sold the whole plunder to a storekeeper in Booneville, reserving only one pair of army shoes and one bowie knife, which I carried in a sheath on a belt throughout the whole war. I carved the date June 17, 1861, on the handle. Several members of my company went to the city brewery where they bought a keg of beer and drank it on the spot. My companions got drunk and on returning ot camp were whipped by Lieutenant Lothrop with his teamster whip—called a black snake. I managed to present a decent front at roll call and particularly so on this occasion, but I remember how I had to carry up cord wood to our spe-

cial camp on the hill overlooking the rebel encampment, until my back ached. It was only later that we commenced burning fence rails for our camp fires. We remained a couple of weeks at Booneville while Lyon increased his force by such troops as joined him overland and while he gathered commissary wagons to transport them for the use of his army on the march into the interior. We were, however, badly provided for from the outset, as neither sufficient stores nor enough wagons could be procured. Lyon left Booneville on July 3rd with 2,350 men and marched eighty miles southwest towards Clinton. On July 7th we reached Grande river, a few miles south of Clinton, where Major Sturgis joined us with several hundred regulars from Fort Leavenworth and the first and second regiment Kansas Volunteers, altogether about 1,600 strong. In the meantime Col. Franz Sigel of the Third Missouri Volunteer Infantry, who, with some other volunteer troops, had marched on a different route into the interior of the state, had fought his somewhat overrated battle of Carthage with the Missouri rebel state troops in which he lost 13 killed and 31 wounded, the state troops reporting 10 killed and 64 wounded. This fight was more of an artillery duel on the run than anything else, Sigel being the retreating party. This occurred on July 5, 1861.

The crossing of Grande river was a difficult matter, as Lyon had no pontoons and the river was swollen with rains. We did get over with small loss. On the afternoon of July 9th we crossed the Osage river nine miles above Osceola, the infantry wading up to their waists. The current was so strong that we had to hold on to the guns in order not to be swept from our feet. We put our clothing and shoes on our heads and held the bundle down with our rifles. Some of the troops and wagons had to be ferried over and that took all of the two days, 9th and 10th of July. On the 11th we continued our march to Springfield. On the 12th of July we were within thirty miles of this city. We had marched twenty-seven miles on July 11th under a blazing sun across level prairie land where the grass was six feet high and had to be tramped down by the artillery before the infantry could fol-

low. Every few hundred yards the front guns would have to be changed; it was too severe even on the horses. There was no water. In the late afternoon we finally stopped, thoroughly worn out. We marched again at night, making twenty-three miles more by the morning of July 12th. This was a very severe test for the best of troops—in our case it was a wonder that we stood it at all, illy provisioned as we were. I had thrown off my blanket and overcoat long ago; in such heat all we could do was to carry our 11-pound Springfield rifles and 40 rounds of ammunition that hung heavy enough on us. On the night of July 12th we camped within twelve miles of Springfield and early the next day we marched into the city. Our army rations had long given out and we had nothing to eat but the fresh beef slaughtered at nightfall, hot as it was, after being driven in the rear of the army during the whole day. There was no salt to season it with and nothing else except green corn from the fields and green apples from the trees. No flour, no corn meal, no bread, no hard tack, no rice, no beans, no coffee, no sugar, nor any salt meat or bacon, for all of which we sighed in vain. Only our officers lived well. They had a team for themselves, that is for Lieutenant Lothrop and Major Schofield, and they had plenty of stores left. Whiskey had not been forgotten by them and of that they had one whole barrelful left by the time we reached Springfield. The officers commanding the regular troops under Lyon and more particularly those who commanded the General Service Recruits, did not make the least attempt to procure any better supplies or rations for us. They looked out only for themselves. There was no possibility of drawing any more rations after we had left Booneville and plunged into the interior of the state. We were a long distance from our base of operations, St. Louis, the nearest point from which commissary stores could be forwarded. The Pacific Road had been finished only to Rolla and everything in the nature of supplies would have had to be transported on wagons through a wild country swarming with rebels. Furthermore, there were no wagons on hand nor any more troops to guard them. The government had to create everything at

the commencement of the war. Thos. L. Snead, the author of the "Fight in Missouri," says that General Lyon's army was well provisioned, but this is an egregious error. The country we had traversed was a smiling expanse of fertile prairie soil diversified by magnificent forests near the water courses. We passed through a few towns but no effort was made by our officers to forage. Many farm houses had been deserted. There was no sight of any vegetables such as potatoes or onions or cabbage anywhere. There were mills, however, and even if no flour was obtainable, there was corn left in the country which could have been ground up into meal. Salt was our greatest need, but we did not get any to season our fresh beef with. We finally used the powder contained in our cartridges, but the officers soon heard of it and held a daily inspection of arms and ammunition and any missing cartridges were charged to us, except it could be proved that they had been expended in fight.

To steal some of our lieutenant's whiskey was the ambition of some of my comrades and one day a private named Patrick Hogan slipped into the lieutenant's tent and managed to draw some of the whiskey. But Lothrop, whom we called "Old Brophy," discovered him, and taking him out on the parade ground, whipped him most unmercifully with his black snake. Hogan swore in his face he would kill him the first chance he could get. The brutal treatment of the men by Lieutenant Lothrop secured him the lasting hatred of the volunteers as well, for they frequently witnessed these castigations.

Col. Sigel, before his attack on the state troops at Carthage, had committed the foolishness of leaving a part of his force at Neosho in order to protect several faithful citizens, and this detachment was captured July 6th by a brigade of McCullough's division of Confederate troops under Churchill and McIntosh. 137 men of Sigel's regiment, 150 stands of arms and 7 wagons and mules were surrendered at Neosho. Sigel himself had dispatched his train towards Springfield before he had attacked the state troops at Carthage under Rains, Clark and Parsons, numbering 2,600 armed infantry and artil-

lery. They had one three-gun and one four-gun battery. Sigel's force consisted of nine companies of his own regiment (the third Missouri) and seven companies of Salomons, the Fifth Missouri Infantry. Volunteers numbering only 950 men and seven pieces of artillery, under Major Backhoff and 125 men. He retreated from near the Kansas line to Sarcoxie, fifteen miles southeast of Carthage, and from there northward to Springfield. The junction of the Missouri state troops under the command of General Price with the Confederate Army composed of Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana troops under Ben McCullough had been accomplished, although it had been the aim of Lyon to prevent it. Lyon remained some three weeks near Springfield, while the combined Confederates and Missouri State troops perfected their organizations nearer the Arkansas line. Lyon waited for reinforcements, which did not come. On the first of August he left Springfield and on the second he engaged the enemy at Dugsprings. On our side Steele's battalion of regulars, Stanley's troop of regular cavalry and a section of Totten's battery were opposed to Rains' brigade of Missouri State troops. They lost forty killed and forty-four wounded, while the Union loss amounted to four killed and thirty-seven wounded. On this march we came to a wonderful spring, Mammuth Springs, Mo., which forms a pond immediately on issuing from an opening in the rocks and is at least seventy feet broad and six feet high. Here we stopped and bathed and most of us washed our clothes here also, hanging them on the bushes to dry while we went about naked.

On the third of August Lyon followed up the Missourians, whom he had defeated, and advanced to McCulla's store, twenty-four miles from Springfield and within six miles of the Confederate position of McCullough, who was on Crane Creek. On the fourth of August we turned about and marched back to Springfield, arriving there on Monday, August 5th. McCullough then followed up Lyon and on August 6th took position on Wilson's creek, ten miles from Springfield. So far each party had been simply reconnoitering and each hesitated to attack the other, not knowing the exact strength of

the combatants. According to Confederate accounts McCullough at first refused to help Price in fighting Lyon, because he had instructions from Jefferson Davis to protect only Arkansas and the Indian territory. But it is related that finally old General Price got up on his ear and taunted McCullough with all kinds of insinuations and accusations, making him consent to a combined action. They arranged to attack Lyon at Springfield. Lyon did not wait for that but went out from Springfield on the evening of August 9th and attacked the combined forces of Price and McCullough on the early morning of August 10th. Here it is proper to give the strength of the Union and Confederate forces, as they are mentioned by competent authorities on both sides:

The Union Forces Under General Lyon.

1. *Regular Troops.*
   (a) Captain Frederick Steele's battalion of regular infantry, consisting of two companies United States Second Infantry and two companies General Service Recruits, to which the writer belonged. The four companies under Steele mustered about 280
   (b) Captain Plummer's battalion of regular infantry, consisting of three companies First United States Infantry and one company General Service Recruits 300
   (c) Captain James Totten's battery F, Second United States Artillery, 6 guns and 84 men.......... 84

   664

   (d) Captain John V. Dubois, battery Reg. United States Artillery, four guns and 66 men....... 66
   (e) Company D, First United States Cavalry, Captain C. W. Canfield, probably 60 men........ 60
2. *Volunteers.*
   (a) Col. Geo. L. Andrews, First Missouri Infantry.. 775
   (b) Col. W. H. Merritt, First Iowa Infantry, about.. 790
   (c) Col. Geo. W. Deitzers, First Kansas Infantry, about 780

(d) Col. Robert B. Mitchells, Second Kansas Infantry, about 600
(e) Major Peter John Osterhaus, Second Company Second Missouri Infantry.................. 150
(f) 1 Battalion Kansas Mounted Rangers, about.... 200
(g) 1 Battalion mounted Homeguards, about....... 150

4,235

This was the strength of Lyon's main column with which he attacked the Confederate left wing. The mounted Kansas Rangers and mounted Missouri Homeguards and Canfield's troops of regular cavalry were held as a reserve and did not engage in the fighting at the battle of Wilson's Creek.

The troops under Col. Franz Sigel ordered to attack the Confederate right wing numbered as follows:

(1) Third Missouri Infantry, Sigel's own regiment, Fifth Missouri Infantry, Col. C. E. Solomon's Regiment Volunteers, one battery Lieutenants Schuetzenbach and Schaefer, six guns, altogether probably 1,050
Company I, First United States Regular Cavalry under Captain Eugene A. Carr.............. 65
Company C, Second United States Regular Dragoons under Lieutenant Chas. E. Farrand......... 65

1,180

Recapitulation: Under Lyon......................4,235
Under Sigel.....................1,180

Total United States forces...................5,415

The main column under Lyon moved southwest towards Little York and then marched south until we had turned the Confederate left and were in the rear of them. Sigel's column, after leaving Springfield, took another road more to the southeast and turned the Confederate right. All the accounts given by rebel authorities agree that both Lyon and Sigel were in the *rear* of the Confederate position before the rebels were

aware of it. This had been accomplished by five o'clock in the morning and the first attack of Lyon's advance was made before dawn, almost in the dark. The distance which separated the two points of attack amounted to about three miles, I proceed now to give the strength of the Confederate forces according to their own reports:

1. *Troops Under Immediate Command of Ben McCullough of Texas.*

Col. Louis Hebert, Third Louisiana Infantry, called the Louisiana Tigers	700
McRae's Arkansas Battalion	220
Churchill's mounted Arkansas Rifles	600
McIntosh mounted Arkansas Rifles	400
Green's South Kansas and Texas mounted Regiment	800
2. *Arkansas Troops Under Command of Pearce.*	
Gratiot's Infantry	500
Walker's Infantry	550
Dockeray's Infantry	650
Carroll's First Arkansas Cavalry	350
Carroll's Independent Cavalry	40
Woodruff's Battery, 4 guns	71
Reid's Battery, 4 guns	73
	4,954

2. *Arkansas Troops Under Command of Pierce.*

Ram's command and Bledsoco's Battery, 3 guns	2,550
Parson's command and Guibor's Battery of 4 guns	530
Clark's command	550
Stack's command	940
McBride's command	650
Total	10,174

The battle of Wilson's creek was fought principally in a narrow, heavily wooded valley formed by the passage of Wilson's creek through a succession of low hills on both sides. The attack of the Union army came from the west and the line of battle under Lyon was formed on the west side of

the creek while the Confederate camp stretched mainly on the east side of the creek. Their line of battle was also here. Plummer's battalion of regular infantry was in the advance, followed by Osterhaus's two companies and Totten's battery. They commenced the fight and drove the rebels out of their tents. Lyon immediately seized the hills on the west side of the creek—about 100 feet high—since called "Bloody Hill." There were planted Totten's and Dubois' batteries with Steele's regulars in immediate support. Another somewhat lower range of hills ran along on the eastern side of the creek—the highest about seventy-five feet high. There the rebels had planted their batteries. The whole Confederate line had faced towards Springfield in a northeast direction and as Lyon attacked them in the rear they had to turn around. There were never more than three hundred yards between the Union and rebel lines during the battle and the rebels dashed several times within about fifty yards of our position on Bloody Hill.

The fighting was furious from the beginning, although the foliage prevented us from seeing the Confederate lines distinctly. The only cultivated ground was a big cornfield surrounded by a fence and situated on the east side of the creek just a little north of the spot where the road from Fayetteville, Arkansas, came up from the southwest and crossed over the creek towards the northeast and to Springfield. This cornfield was nearly opposite Bloody Hill and the rebels in their repeated charges would dash through the field, climb over the fence and try to reach our position on the west side of the creek. But right there they met their warmest reception, and I saw whole panels of the fence with bleeding and torn rebels knocked over by the shrapnel and shells from our batteries.

We of the regular infantry had at first lain down on the ground and fired in that position, but we soon got up and continued the fight half covered by brushwork and trees. Soon dead and wounded fell all about us. The wounded commenced to cry for water and some of us, I among them, crawled down on our knees through the ravines to the creek that flowed between the hostile lines, to fill our canteens. The storm of

bullets that whistled about our ears was tremendous. I received a spent ball that glanced off my forehead, making only a small indentation, but the wound bled and I washed my face in the water of the creek. There was not much water, only here and there in some hollows. Over our heads flew the iron hail shot of the opposing batteries. Sixty-one men of Steele's battalion fell here: fifteen killed, forty-four wounded and two missing.

The storm of battle raged on our left, in our front and on our right—we occupied nearly the center. Occasionally the firing would stop for a little while and then a strange silence would brood over the wooded valley from which the clouds of smoke slowly drifted. It was a weird spectacle. The sun shone hot over our heads and we had not a thing to eat or drink except a little warm water, and that was soon exhausted. We had marched out the night before without any rations and now the pains of actual hunger added to our discomfort. The fight had lasted along the whole line for nearly five hours when Lyon himself rode on horseback to the advance section of Totten's battery. His horse was killed under him and he was wounded in the leg and head. He then mounted another horse and ordered a charge by all the troops near him. They consisted of the First and Second Missouri, the First and Second Kansas and the First Iowa. Lyon placed himself on the head of the Second Kansas, swung his hat up high and the column went forward toward the rebel lines. Col. Mitchell was struck down, heavily wounded, and immediately after Lyon himself was shot through the breast and fell off his horse, dead. This occurred about half-past eleven in the morning, and there was a cessation of all firing for about twenty minutes, during which a consultation of the officers took place. The rebels had retired a short distance. Major Sturgis, the next in command, decided on a retreat and the troops began gradually to withdraw when the rebels again opened fire with shrapnel and canister. Totten's battery replied, well supported by Steele's regulars, who were the last to leave the field after twelve o'clock, the battery withdrawing their guns in sections. We reached Springfield about five in the afternoon. Some

wagons overtook us before we entered the city and loaves of bread were handed to us. This was the first thing we had had to eat that day. The bread had been baked by order of General Lyon from some flour found secreted in the city.

On reaching our old company grounds we first heard the news of the disaster that had befallen Sigel's column. This has been talked of so often that I will not say anything about it here, especially since I was not in a position to see anything of it myself, as I had been with Steele's regulars on Bloody Hill. There was one thing certain, however, namely that the volunteers under Sigel had gone only reluctantly into the fight, as their time of service had expired. They had enlisted for only ninety days. Those of Sigel's men who had escaped the slaughter had reached Springfield long before us, some already before twelve o'clock. Sigel lost five of his guns, and a great many of his men were killed and wounded. Our retreat from Springfield commenced in the night of August 10th. The Union loss in this battle was as follows:

killed	258
wounded	873
missing	292
	1423

The rebel loss has been estimated as high as 3,000, but this is probably too much. One Confederate account acknowledges: killed 279, and wounded 951, but they do not report any missing and as they could not fall much lower than 300, the total Confederate loss was probably fifteen hundred. This fight must be considered as a drawn battle.

I must now relate an incident which occurred the day before we left Springfield for the battlefield on Wilson's creek. By long marching in the hottest summer weather and through a serious want of all regular rations we had naturally become weakened and emaciated. Many among us were actually sick with dysentery. There were no surgeons for us. We all craved for something strong to support us. Now a squad of us, I among them, had discovered a cellar door leading into the underground vaults of a liquor store in Springfield. All

such places had been shut since our arrival. Here was luck for once. We waited until nightfall and then loaded with eight of our big iron camp kettles carried on sticks over our shoulders we returned to the city, opened the cellar door and filled our kettles with the liquor within reach. I secured two kettles full of the finest blackberry brandy that I ever tasted in my life. We got safely away with our plunder. We had filled up in the cellar with what we could drink and now the contents of these eight kettles was divided among our comrades in camp. There was great rejoicing, for such a streak of luck had not yet befallen us. The whole of Steele's regulars got its share. We held a great pow wow around our camp fire that night and an Indian dance was inaugurated. Next night by the time it was dark we went back to the same place to refill our kettles. But before we could get over the fence a sentinel with leveled musket halted us and informed us that the first man who came nearer would be shot. Such were the orders of old Daddy Lyon. The proprietor of the store had discovered the robbery and reported the same to Lyon. This last attempt occurred on the very night when we marched off to Wilson's creek. When we returned there was no time to fool away and we had to leave Springfield without being able to get another drop to drink. The retreat from the battlefield was deliberate and orderly; there was no confusion. One command after the other filed off slowly, the remaining regiments and companies still presenting a front to the enemy until the last company of Steele's regulars also took the road. The battle of Wilson's creek was one of the rare battles in which hardly any prisoners were taken. Neither party reported any. Some of our heavily wounded no doubt fell into the hands of the enemy, but the Confederate accounts do not speak of it. The body of General Lyon was delivered to a party under a flag of truce sent out by Major Sturgis and taken to Springfield where he is buried.

Chapter VI.

The Retreat from Springfield and the Arrival at Rolla, Mo.

If our march from Booneville to Springfield had taxed our powers of endurance, they were called to a much harder test on our return trip. There is nothing pleasant on a retreat. The awful heat, the lack of water and provisions oppressed all alike. Our ranks were fearfully thinned; more than twenty-five per cent of Lyon's force had fallen. It is very questionable what an army of continental Europe would do if not provided with rations. To expect a soldier to march and fight on an empty stomach is more than human nature can stand without breaking out in rebellion, mutiny or resulting in wholesale foraging and plundering whether in a friend's or enemy's country. In the absence of salt we could no longer touch the beef handed out to us at our nightly encampments. Some of the mounted men drove along the cattle destined for slaughter at night. Beef on the hoof and green corn was all we had. Dysentery resulting from such a diet caused many to drop out of the ranks. They failed to catch up with the column afterwards and either died on the road or were killed by the rebels. Any foraging on the few farms we passed was strictly forbidden. At the more pretentious houses sentinels were placed. Any infraction of discipline was rigidly punished. I think the volunteers were allowed more liberty in this respect. We regulars suffered dreadfully under the cruel and despotic rule of Lieutenant Lothrop.

On the night following our departure from Springfield it was discovered that two of our best men had deserted. They had openly declared that they expected to receive better treatment in the rebel ranks. I remember the name of one of them, Hines. It was whispered afterwards that he had joined the rebels and obtained an officer's commission from the start. On the morning of the second day of our march back we passed the encampment of a volunteer regiment just packing up their wagons. One of the cooks spilled the contents of a kettle on the grass by the road side. I saw it was rice, none of which I had had since leaving Booneville. I was so hungry

that I kneeled down by the roadside and gathered the kernels of rice in my cup and ate the mess right from the ground. I even scraped the grass. "Hurry up there," growled the sergeant bringing up the rear of the company, "no straggling." I filled one more cup full of rice and then hurried on. I learned afterwards that hunger brought several of my comrades to steal a side of bacon out of the lieutenant's wagon. He discovered the culprits and whipped them in his usual fashion. The next morning at roll call it was found that they had deserted during the night, taking their arms with them. The country on both sides of our march thus filled up with marauding parties who generally outstripped the march of the army as we heard from some of the people. On the third day out from Springfield I saw one solitary hard tack exchanged for a twenty dollar gold piece. It is possible that some might be inclined to doubt this statement. But the exchange was made nevertheless. It was a man of the Second United States Regular Infantry who offered the gold piece to a volunteer for his last army hard tack. The man had not touched anything to eat for two days and was half dead with dysentery. It seemed to help him, for he survived.

Thus we marched on in a dispirited manner. On the evening of the third day I was thoroughly exhausted and could hardly crawl along. All at once I heard the cheery voice of a friend at my side offering me a bottle. It was Captain Adolph Dengler of the Third Missouri Infantry who afterwards became Lieutenant Colonel of the Forty-third Illinois Infantry. I took a good swallow and found it was the same blackberry wine we had plundered in Springfield. I wanted to return the bottle. "Keep it," Captain Dengler said. "You will need it. I have more on the wagon. We had the hardest time to get the stuff before we left Springfield and we loaded up." He then continued: "We came back to Springfield a good deal quicker than we were in going out to that bloody field. We had marched with the greatest confidence along until we were at the very place appointed to us by Lyon. Sigel planted his battery on a hill just this side of the Fayetteville road, just south of the little branch that runs along there and joins

Wilson's creek (he meant Skegg's branch). The infantry was placed on both sides of the road to protect the battery. A few skirmishes were thrown out towards the dense woods in the valley northeast of our position. But there is where the first mistake was made—there was no regular skirmish line. The few men who tried to investigate the mysteries of the thick bushes and woods before us were unfortunately led by a man whose eyesight was bad. He was Albert Tod, your old schoolmate—one of Sigel's volunteers. We saw him shot and fall suddenly—then, all at once a line of men in grey uniforms advanced against the battery, rushing out of the woods opposite us. The sudden killing of Tod ought to have warned us, but before our men could fire a shot the rebels were on us, shooting and bayonetting. A panic seized the men. The guns were abandoned. The officers tried in vain to rally the men. Very nearly at the same time a cloud of horsemen burst out of the woods in our front and on our right and pursued the fugitives, who were shot and struck down right and left. Then followed a race for Springfield."

Such was Captain Dengler's version of Sigel's surprise and defeat. A well formed and ably organized line of skirmishers would have saved Sigel's command and the guns would not have been lost. The Confederate accounts say that it was the Third Louisiana regiment of infantry, led by McCullough and McIntosh which made the charge on Sigel's battery. Singular to relate the latter never fired a shot on being so charged. The cavalry which completed the route were of Greer's and Churchill's mounted Missourians, who had been stationed and encamped just north of Tyrrel's creek, where it joins Wilson's creek.

Captain Dengler's bottle of blackberry brandy revived my sinking powers wonderfully and I marched along again with a more elastic step. The stretch of country between Springfield and Rolla is rather stony and sterile, a succession of rough hills with few settlements.

Chapter VI.

Campfire in Rolla and St. Louis.

We could get nothing to eat on the route except what has already been mentioned, fresh beef and green corn, and that made us sick. A great many refugees from Springfield joined us and made things more miserable. The train of the army numbered over 400 wagons and this was swelled by the carriages and wagons of the fugitives. The miseries of this march will not be forgotten by those who suffered from it. It took only about half an hour's time when a well or spring was discovered to exhaust the same. The watering places on the crossings of creeks and rivers were trampled into a sea of mud before the horses and mules got their share. If the rebels had pursued us, a panic would have resulted among the crowd. But no enemy molested us. The distance between Springfield and Rolla is about one hundred and twenty-five miles. Rolla was at that time the terminus of the Pacific Railway and afterwards became a military depot of considerable magnitude. After we had left Lebanon behind us the desertions from the companies of regular recruits became more frequent. Finally between the evening of August 17th and the morning of August 19th the troops, which had so heroically stemmed the tide of the Confederate invasion of Missouri at Carthage, Forsyth, Dugsprings and Wilson's Creek reached Rolla and there went into camp. Rolla meant whiskey and beer for the thirsty and exhausted, and bread and rations for the hungry. It was no wonder that there were some excesses, particularly among the regulars, who had suffered the most. The company under the command of Lieutenant Lothrop contained probably the greatest number of hard cases that I ever saw assembled in one military company. The other regulars were not much better in wild and ferocious behavior, but "Lothrop's pets" were certainly the worst. On the night of the second day of our stay at Rolla Lieutenant Lathrop singled five of the worst offenders out. They had raised a row in town and came back to the camp drunk. He ordered them tied up to a stout fence. He then armed himself with his

great big black snake and "whaled" each of the five until his ached. This was witnessed by a good many of the volunteers and it made us all shudder. Corporal punishment had not yet been abolished in the army. Later an act of congress was passed forbidding it. The same night these five men deserted. No day now passed when some of the regulars would not be missed. There was no enemy between Rolla and St. Louis and it was comparatively easy to get away. Toward the end of August the arrangements for our transportation to St. Louis by railway had been perfected and we were now packed in cars.

I think it was in the first days of September that we again set foot in the well known streets of St. Louis. The appearance of the army as we marched through the streets was extremely shocking. Our clothing was very deficient; many had no shoes, jackets, blankets nor hats or caps. I marched barefoot, without a blouse, and had only a woolen shirt and a very dilapidated pair of pants on. Our muskets looked bright enough; and we brought back the flags that went into the fight. The citizens of St. Louis cheered and feted us. We regulars went into camp on the north side of the city near the river, after we had been fitted out with shoes and new uniforms at the arsenal. We then received our pay. For the next ten days a pandemonium ensued such as I had never before witnessed. All former excesses paled into insignificance before the dreadful scenes now enacted in camp. Our officers quartered themselves in the city and "Old Brophy" troubled himself only in the morning and at night to look after us and occasionally whip some one. We knew that he and the other officers indulged in monumental sprees; why should not the common soldier? Whiskey flowed in streams and a crowd of vile women joined in the disgusting orgies. Fights were the order of the day. No man peacefully inclined and trying to behave himself was left alone. He was forced into the wild vortex and the bacchanalia of the drunken crowd allowed him no rest. Firearms were discharged indiscriminately in camp and "Old Brophy's" tent riddled with bullets. It would have been almost as safe to be actually in battle again as

among such tigers. It was literally hell on earth. The desertions had again commenced just as soon as we had received new clothing and our pay. Our number grew less at every roll call.

We recruits expected to be drafted into regular regiments. Most of us had enlisted with the idea that we would be transferred to a regular cavalry regiment. We were, therefore, very much astonished to hear that Col. Frank P. Blair had conceived the idea of having us regular recruits drafted into his newly formed regiment of First Missouri Light Artillery Volunteers. The men of the First Missouri Infantry were ninety days men, but we were retained in service in order to form the First Missouri Light Artillery. We could, however, form only the nucleus of a few companies. The whole scheme was gotten up to reward the officers and to retain the men in service. Most of the enlisted men of the First Missouri Infantry would not listen to the proposals and refused particularly to be enrolled under officers of the regular army and under such cruel and tyrannical task masters as our Lieutenant Lothrop was. The few men that were left of his company of regular recruits were then crowded into this battery and regiment of the volunteer service and transferred thus, although still belonging to the regular army. I cannot say whether this was exactly according to law, or whether such a scheme was contrary to regulations or if the necessary forms for a legal transfer were observed. I can only speak of the result.

The volunteers rebelled against the idea of being officered by regular army officers and being banded together with such a lot of reprobates and hard cases as were found among the regular recruits. Most of the regulars strenuously opposed the idea of being forced into a volunteer regiment without being enabled to reap the benefit thereof, that is without being allowed to share the bounties offered. But the greatest objection was the tyrannical conduct of Lieutenant Lothrop. We had hoped to come under more humane officers by getting drafted into some regular regiment. Such was not to be our fate. We were still condemned to witness the daily execu-

tions of "Old Brophy" and hear the lash descend on the backs of our comrades. We had no respect for him, we only feared his big black snake whip. What wonder that volunteers and regulars alike now deserted? There was a mutiny in camp.

I must now relate, that soon after our re-entry in St. Louis, I made a written application to Lieutenant Lothrop for my discharge from the regular army and for permission to enter a volunteer regiment in which I had friends who would have assisted me to a promotion. Lothrop pocketed the application and promised to forward it through the regular channels. I do not know whether my application ever reached Washington. I have, however, reason to think that Lothrop forwarded the same, that it was endorsed by Captain Fred Steele and sent to General Fremont's headquarters. But there it must have stopped, for I never heard of it again. Thus the latter part of September, 1861, came around and after obtaining a permit to visit the city I overstayed my furlough. I could not brook the idea of getting into the clutches of Lothrop. Thus far I had escaped the lash by good conduct. But I knew he punished all offenders alike. I reasoned that I had not enlisted for the purpose of getting such treatment. Should I suffer the punishment by the lash like a slave? Besides this I expected my discharge every minute. I was desperate and had been in a melancholy mood for a long while. Who could witness the brutal orgies in the camp of the regulars and not wish himself away? In my desperate situation I fell in with a lot of other men and with some recruiting officers. These took me on a big carousal and filled me up with a tremendous load of beer, wine and liquor. I remember nothing more but that next morning I woke up in a strange place with a tremendous headache and was informed, that I had joined the Thirteenth Illinois Cavalry. They showed me my signature, but I had signed only part of my name. I found that I was already on Illinois ground and in a short while afterwards we were packed into cars destined for Chicago and Camp Douglass. It has always seemed to me that I was kidnapped on the occasion referred to above.

Ein unveröffentlichter Brief von Paul Follen.

Der nachstehende Brief oder vielmehr Briefentwurf von Paul Follen, dem ausgezeichneten Bruder Karl Follens, ist dem Jahrbuch durch seine Enkelin, Frau Dr. J. Holinger in Chicago, gütigst zur Verfügung gestellt worden. Es scheint der letzte Brief gewesen zu sein, den Paul Follen schrieb, denn schon wenige Wochen darauf, am 3. Oktober 1844, erlag der tapfere, vielgeprüfte Mann dem tückischen Wechselfieber, an dem er schon litt, als er diese Zeilen niederschrieb.

Wie uns der Brief einen tiefen Einblick gibt in die unsäglichen Schwierigkeiten, mit denen der hochgebildete deutsche Einwanderer im Hinterwalde zu ringen hatte, um sich und seine Kinder vorm Verbauern und der geistigen Versumpfung des Grenzlerlebens zu retten, so zeigt er zugleich auch die Charakterstärke, den Opfermut und das stille Heldentum, welche die enttäuschten deutschen Idealisten, Männer wie Frauen, in diesem Kampfe bewährten und ihren Nachkommen als bestes Erbteil hinterließen. Nicht allen Mitgliedern der „Gießener Gesellschaft", die Karl Follens ursprünglichen Plan der Gründung eines deutschen Staates in Amerika zur Ausführung bringen wollten, gelang es, sich wie z. B. F. Münch u. A., ins Freie zu kämpfen. Und gerade das Schicksal Paul Follens ist typisch für die Tragik, in der das Leben von Tausenden gebildeter deutscher Einwanderer in diesem Lande geendet hat.

Der Brief ist an Hofgerichtsadvokat von Buri, einen vertrauten Freund der Familie Follen in Gießen, gerichtet.

Ueber Paul Follens Leben bringt Näheres F. Münch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ebenso G. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*. Vergl. auch den Brief von F. Münch im letzten Bande dieses Jahrbuchs, S. 74 ff.

* * *

St. Louis, den 23. August 1844.

Liebster Buri!

War es nicht während der Schlacht bei Torgau, daß Marschall Daun eine Anzahl blasender Postillone mit der Siegesbotschaft nach Wien sendete, nach Verlauf weniger Stunden aber genöthigt war, die Trauerbotschaft von fast gänzlicher Vernichtung seines Heeres folgen zu lassen? So ergeht's mir jetzt, sans comparaison. Mein Brief vom März oder April l. J. meldete Dir meinen Überzug hierher, mit den besten Hoffnungen auf Erfolg, der gegenwärtige verkündet Dir meine gänzliche Niederlage. Nicht für uns Alten faßten wir den Entschluß, hierher zu ziehen, für uns konnte dieses Wagniß nur neue Mühen und Einschränkungen zur Folge haben. Wir hatten dabei nur unserer wirklich meist ausgezeichneten Kinder Zukunft im Auge, es galt den Versuch, sie hierdurch der geistdämpfenden und ärmlichen Bahn des unbemittelten Bauern zu entreißen und ihnen die Theilnahme an fortschreitender geistiger Kultur zu erkämpfen. Mein Plan, wie ich Dir schon früher andeutete, war der. Ich hatte Herrn Angelrodt's Landgut, 2 Meilen von St. Louis entfernt, um den mäßigen Preis von $350 jährlich auf 2 Jahre gepachtet, daran wollte und konnte ich sehr gut während der Pachtperiode nicht nur unseren gesammten häuslichen Bedarf erziehen, vielmehr auch das Pachtgeld und ein Beträchtliches darüber durch Verkauf von Produkten gewinnen. Eine teutsche Zeitung, die ich nach allgemeinem Wunsche herauszugeben gedachte, Besorgung allerlei ins Rechtsfach einschlagender Geschäfte namentlich von hier nach Teutschland, hätten unseren sonstigen Bedarf vollkommen zu decken vermocht und bis zum nächsten Frühlinge konnte ich mir nebenbei die nöthigen praktischen Fertigkeiten zur Betreibung der Advocatur angeeignet haben, da das Studium des im Ganzen erbärmlichen, materiellen englischen Rechts uns in Teutschland gebildeten Juristen nur wenig Schwierigkeiten darbietet und nur der Prozeßgang, seiner unendlich vielen albernen Formalitäten halber, Hindernisse darbietet. Im März kam ich hier an, ich stellte alles Land mit meinen Kindern aus, es versprach den besten Erfolg. Da mit Einemmale traten die furchtbaren Fluten und Ueberschwemmungen unserer westlichen Ströme, des Mississippi und Missouri

mit ihren Nebenflüssen ein, mein ganzes Ackerland wurde 5 Wochen lang 10 Fuß hoch überschwemmt, alle Saatfelder verwüstet, die Umzäunungen niedergerissen und weggeschwemmt, kurz das ganze Land für mehrere Jahre unbrauchbar gemacht. Als Versuch, was von einer umfassendern teutschen Zeitung zu erwarten sei, gab ich gleichzeitig ein kleineres rein politisches Blatt, hauptsächlich auf die diesjährigen Staats- und National- Wahlen unter den Teutschen einzuwirken bestimmt heraus, und da ich noch keine eigene Presse anzufassen vermochte, machte ich wegen des Druckes desselben mit dem Eigenthümer der damals einzigen hiesigen teutschen Presse, zugleich Intendantur einer teutschen Zeitung die er, bei vielem Talent, Jahrelang kläglich vernachlässigt hatte, einen Vertrag. Unmittelbar nach meiner Ankündigung dieses Blattes liefen von allen Seiten zahlreiche Bestellungen mit der dringenden Aufforderung an mich ein, die Zeitung der politischen Verhandlungen unter den hiesigen Teutschen ganz in meine Hand zu nehmen, die Sache versprach den besten Erfolg. Da aber scheiterte auch dieses Unternehmen an der Lüderlichkeit des Eigenthümers der Presse oder an einem noch schlimmeren Motive desselben. Das Blatt wurde von Beginn an ganz unregelmäßig, zuweilen 8 Tage nach der Zeit, voller Druckfehler, ausgegeben und so mußte ich, da es auf diese Weise allen Credit verloren hätte, schon nach der dritten Nummer dasselbe vorläufig suspendieren und dann, da ich in keiner Weise eine Abänderung zu bewirken vermochte, es ganz aufgeben. So war die ganze Basis für mein hiesiges Unternehmen verloren. Alles was der Flut des Stromes entging, wurde durch die unaufhörlichen Regengüsse zerstört, alle von der Farm mitgebrachten unendlichen Vorräthe, selbst Kleider in Schränken und Kommoden verdarben theils bis zur völligen Unbrauchbarkeit durch die alles durchdringende Feuchtigkeit, namentlich auch vieles Weißzeug, welches die fürsorgliche Natur meiner Hausfrau in Quantitäten von Teutschland mitgebracht hatte, daß selbst künftige Generationen noch der Nothwendigkeit des Flachs- und Hanf-Baues zu eigenem Gebrauche enthoben gewesen wären. Kurz, ich habe während der wenigen Monate meines Hierseins einen Verlust von mindestens 700 Dollars erlitten, der, da Du meine Vermögensverhältnisse kennst, wie Du einsehen wirst, für mich ruinierend sein muß. Da ich mit meiner starken Familie hier

nicht aus der Schnur leben kann und dieß wenigstens ein halbes Jahr lang jetzt thun müßte, bis meine Rechtspraxis genügend eingerichtet und eine eigene Presse verdient wäre und Sicherheit gewähren könnte, so bleibt nur die Rückkehr nach meiner Farm übrig, die nächsten 15ten Dezember angetreten werden soll. Aber auch da komme ich in neue Klemme, denn ich habe nicht nur sämmtliches Vieh, Ackergeräth und Hausrath, was alles hier nicht brauchbar, bei meinem Abzug von dort verkauft, was ich jetzt alles zu ungleich höhern Preisen wieder kaufen muß und nebenbei meinen Pächter, für Rückgabe eines Theiles des Feldes, Zäunung meines Wohnhauses und Einrichtung in einem anderen alten Hause des Platzes vor Ablauf der zweijährigen Pachtzeit entschädigen muß. Ueberdieß muß ich allen bis zur nächsten Ernte erforderlichen Bedarf meiner Familie kaufen — kurz fast genau da wieder anfangen, wo ich vor 10 Jahren, mit weit mehr Mitteln versehen und soviel jünger hier begonnen habe. Dies aber ist der Schluß der Tragödie noch keineswegs. Vor mehreren Wochen reiste ich, um unsers Rückzugs halber das Nöthige vorzubereiten, nach meinem 60 Meilen von hier entfernten Platze, erkrankte dort unmittelbar nach meiner Ankunft in meines Schwagers Georg Hause, an heftigem Gallenfieber, erhielt, nach 14tägigem Lager und kaum etwas wieder auf den Beinen, die Nachricht, daß meine Frau, wahrscheinlich meist aus Angst um mich, krank niederliege und beschloß sogleich, gegen Arzt und Verwandten-Widerspruch, nach St. Louis zurückzukehren, theils zu Pferde, theils per Steamboat, theils zu Fuße und obgleich ich den Meinigen meinethalben Beruhigung brachte, erlitt ich durch diese Parforce Tour schwere Rückfälle, die mich jetzt noch so niedergedrückt haben, daß mir zum Beispiel das Schreiben dieses Briefes die größte Anstrengung kostet und ich gestern zum Erstenmale wieder zur Stadt fahren konnte. Meine gleichfalls noch leidende Frau und ich beginnen uns indeß jetzt so weit wieder zu erholen, daß wir das Einpacken vornehmen und wahrscheinlich in 3 Wochen die Rückreise vornehmen können.

Hier, lieber Buri, eine ausführliche Historie unserer letzten Lebensperiode, den Schluß auf unsere nächste Zukunft im Allgemeinen kannst Du Dir selber ziehen, das heißt so viel als dies möglich, denn in Eueren europäischen Verhältnissen könnt Ihr Euch

unmöglich einen klaren Begriff von den uns zur Gewohnheit gewordenen Mühseligkeiten und Entbehrungen machen. Unsere bisherige Existenz war nach hiesiger Weise bequem, nämlich bei ununterbrochener Körperanstrengung besaßen wir reichlich was zur hiesigen ländlichen Existenz gehört. Mein Haus war — ich darf es behaupten — das geachtetste unter den Deutschen in Missouri, alle unsere Landsleute setzten einen Werth darin, mit uns in Verkehr zu stehen, denn obgleich rustici haben wir uns standhaft das hier so gewöhnliche Verbauern, freilich mit unsäglicher Anstrengung, vom Halse gehalten. Warum also gaben wir diese sichere und geachtete Existenz auf und setzten sie an das Wagniß hierher? Lieber Buri, wenn Ihr, was Gott verhüten möge, jemals meinen und meiner Frau Seelenschmerz darüber empfinden solltet, aus Mangel an, in unsern hiesigen jetzigen ländlichen Verhältnissen unerschwinglichen baaren Mitteln von wenigen Hunderten erbärmlicher Dollars, für der Kinder geistige Ausbildung, trotz ihrer trefflichen Anlagen und ihrem deutlich erwachten Streben darnach, nicht nur nichts Förderliches thun zu können, sie vielmehr geflissentlich und consequent davon zurückhalten, sie in ihrem Aufschwunge hemmen, die geistigen Flügel ihnen stümpfen, ihnen niederziehende Gewichte anhängen zu müssen, damit sie nicht den Geschmack an den, dem mittellosen Bauern nothwendigen rohen Beschäftigungen und kleinlichen Zwecken verlieren — dann ungefähr könntest Du Dir unser Wagniß, an dieses Unternehmen alles zu setzen, erklären. Ihr kennt uns genug, wir sind nicht zu schwindelnden Unternehmungen geneigt, wir schrecken vor Mühen und Arbeiten nicht zurück, unser Haushalt stand nie mit unsern Mitteln in Mißklang. Dieß jetzige Unternehmen war nicht leicht angelegt, bezweckte nicht unsere Gemächlichkeit, hätte das widrige Geschick nicht alle Chancen vereint vernichtet, wir wären wahrlich nicht gescheitert. Daß die nun eingetretene höchste Wahrscheinlichkeit, für unserer Kinder bessere Ausbildung noch weniger als vorher thun zu können, sie mit uns, um alles wieder in leidlichen Stand zu setzen und uns von aufgedrungenen Schulden allmählig zu reinigen, quälend anstrengen zu müssen — Daß dieser Zustand wenig Ermunterndes für uns habe, wirst Du, lieber Buri, ohne Versicherung glauben. Doch lassen wir das, ich will Dir von unserer allerdings jetzt schwierigen Zukunft etwas sagen, denn

Deiner herzlichen Theilnahme an unserem Geschicke bin ich gewiß, Du geprüfter, treuer Freund.

Wir müssen also aufs Land zurück, mit 400 Dollars Schulden belastet, wofür ich weder die Zinsen, noch weniger die Zurückzahlung des Kapitals aus dem Landbau erschwingen kann, da alle ländlichen Produkte jetzt nichts einbringen als Tauschartikel, und meine Farm vom kleinen Markte zu weit abliegt. Ueberdieß bin ich fest entschlossen, meinen Wilhelm nicht hinterm Pfluge versauern zu lassen, ihn vielmehr wo möglich hier in St. Louis in einem angemessenen Geschäfte, welches der Entwicklung seiner vortrefflichen Anlagen günstig ist, unterzubringen. Freilich muß er, kaum 15 Jahre alt, seiner eigenen Kraft vertrauen und ohne Unterstützung von mir erwarten zu können, sich gegen Wind und Wogen durchzukämpfen suchen. Was wir dabei empfinden, ihn sich selber überlassen zu müssen in noch so frühem Alter, kannst Du denken und nur das gibt uns Beruhigung, daß er selber muthig entschlossen, fähig und im Besitze eines so unbeugsamen, festen, sittlichen Charakters ist, daß wir wegen moralischen Untergangs dieses unseres Herzblattes wenigstens sicher sind. Da die anderen Knaben, Bernhard ist 9, Karl 7 und Reinhold 5 Jahre alt, noch zu kräftiger Hülfe in ländlicher Arbeit zu zart sind, so muß ich die ganze Last der Farmerei, jetzt derselben etwas entwöhnt, älter und durch so manche Stürme mürber geworden, abermals auf meine, Gottlob, ziemlich breiten Schultern nehmen. Dabei aber kann ich, eben weil beim Landbau nichts zu erschwingen, nicht stehen bleiben, ich muß, um wenigstens schuldenfrei zu werden, erst noch andere Wege versuchen oder mit dem Landbau verbinden. Hier bieten sich hauptsächlich zwei Wege dar. Entweder ich erschwinge durch allerlei schriftstellerische Arbeiten und auf dem Lande vorkommende in's Rechtsfach einschlagende kleinere Geschäfte, sowie durch Vermögenseinziehung hiesiger Landsleute aus Teutschland soviel, um Zinsen und Capital meiner Schuld allmählig decken zu können, oder dadurch, daß ich junge Leute von 9 Jahren aufwärts als Kostgänger in mein Haus und zu häuslicher Erziehung und Beaufsichtigung annehme, da mein Schwager Fritz und unser trefflicher Landsmann und Schicksalsgefährte Professor Göbel von Koburg in Verbindung mit mir den Plan gefaßt haben, ein Institut an unserem Platze zu errichten. In

dieser Beziehung kommt mir sehr zu statten, daß ich unter den meisten hiesigen reicheren Familien und unter einigen amerikanischen großes Zutrauen besitze. Ueber das Gelingen dieses letzteren Plans läßt sich indeß noch nichts sagen, denn auch Göbel und Fritz Münch können ihrer Finanzen halber keine Geld kostenden Einrichtungen machen, bevor wir vorherige feste Zusagen auf eine zureichende Anzahl von Zöglingen und Kostgängern haben. Gelänge dieß und könnten wir eine kleine Druckerpresse, die hier etwa 200 Dollars kostet, uns erstehen, um ein kleineres, für hiesige Landsleute berechnetes wöchentliches Blatt und einen von Professor Göbel jährlich herauszugebenden guten und rüstigen Kalender, statt der vielen hier grassirenden, ohne Ausnahmen schlechten, auch kleinere, belehrende und sonstige Pamphlete zu drucken — so würden wir uns wohl tapferlich durchschlagen, wenn wir daneben unseren Landbau beibehielten und mit Hülfe unserer Kinder fortbetrieben. Geht dieß aber alles nicht, so wird mir, um aus meinen Schulden zu kommen, einzig der mir unter allen verhaßteste Weg übrig bleiben, meine Familie zur Farm zurückzubringen, für ihren Unterhalt dort möglichst zu sorgen, gegen Frühjahr für meine Person hierher nach St. Louis zurückzukehren und mich hier festzusetzen suchen, bis wir uns sicher hier wieder alle zusammenfinden können. Wie schwer es mir werden mag, mich von meiner Frau und meiner Familie zu trennen, hier für mich eine separate Junggesellen-Wirthschaft zu führen und meiner Frau die Last der Erziehung und Aufsicht über die derben und lebhaften Jungen, neben den häuslichen und Wirthschaftssorgen aufzubürden. Dennoch würde ich bei naher guter Aussicht auch hierzu um der Kinder willen schreiten, falls eine dritte Möglichkeit sich als eitel erweist, nämlich folgende. Mein Schwager Friedrich, Professor Göbel u. s. w.

Ich bitte Dich liebster Buri, um des jüngsten Gerichts willen, eile was Du kannst, daß ich sowohl die Forderung an Florsheim, als das Schäfersche Geld erhalte, wenn sonst nichts mehr aus meinen alten Ausständen zu erlangen wäre. Du kannst, wie ich bemerkte, Dich in meine jetzige Lage nicht denken, es reibt mich auf in Geldabhängigkeit von andern zu stehen, und doch kann ich es nicht vermeiden, da ich hier alles eingebüßt habe, bevor ich Zeit zum Ersatze erhalte. Die in meinem vorigen Briefe an Dich ge-

stellte Bitte die Ankündigung meiner hiesigen Praxis in teutschen öffentlichen Blättern betreffend, muß ich, wenn sie noch nicht besorgt ist, zurücknehmen, und ebenso den Auftrag, wegen Sendung von Büchern und Einleitung einer Korrespondenz für meine damals beabsichtigte Zeitung. Was Du irgend an Geld für mich aufzutreiben vermagst, und auf die möglichst wohlfeile Weise, unter der bekannten Adresse über Bremen an Angelrodt...

Denke Du aber nicht, mein Vielgeliebeter, daß die ganze Schaar der hiesigen schwarzen Fohlen, die Alten an der Spitze, auf einen Knäuel zusammen gekauert sitzen, die Schnauzen gen Himmel gekehrt, ihr Unglück beklagen und bejammern und unthätig darauf harren, daß der Arm der Vorsehung, wie er, ich glaube in Arndt's glorreicher Predigt abgebildet zu sehen, aus den Wolken fahre und ihnen den vollen Geldbeutel entgegenreiche. Wir haben, Vater, Mutter und älteste Kinder in vollem Senate vereinigt, beschlossen und gewagt, was wir für gut und hülfsam erachteten, mit offenen Augen sind wir den uns drohenden Klippen entgegengesegelt, an keinen uns sichtbaren sind wir gescheitert, wir sind also frei von Selbstvorwürfen, ist ja doch Leben und Ehre gerettet, der Verlust unserer Mittel, ist für uns hart, sehr hart, eine Zukunft voller Mühen und Plagen liegt vor uns, aber muthlos und jämmerlich, das sind Worte, die auf uns nie Anwendung haben werden. Unser Selbstvertrauen erlahmt weder noch stirbt es, wir werden nicht aufhören aus allen Kräften gegen die widrigen Verhältnisse anzukämpfen und zufrieden sein mit jedem Loose, welches uns fällt. Allerdings habe ich während der letzten Monate meines Hierseins wo ich ohne Möglichkeit des Gegenstrebens alle die zufälligen Unfälle Schlag auf Schlag hereinbrechen sah, Tage, Wochen in meinem Innersten durchgelebt, die ich kaum einem europäischen Diplomaten wünschen mag. Ich bin in wenigen Wochen grau geworden wie Bileam's Leibarzt, dabei noch fieberkrank, und spüre, obgleich im besten Mannesalter die Folgen aller durchlebten moralischen und körperlichen Strapazen nur zu sehr. Doch hoffe ich, daß der alte Bau noch so lange stehen soll, bis meine Kinder, wovon freilich eines, gewiß das jüngste, erst im nächsten November geboren werden soll — soweit sein werden, um nicht der Gegenstand des Mitleidens andrer werden zu müssen. Wir müssen uns eben durchschlagen so gut es gehen

will, und werden durch Murren gegen das Geschick uns nicht selbst erniedrigen, wenn wir mit aller äußersten Anstrengung und Aufopferung nicht so viel erschwingen können als so viele Dummköpfe und Schurken in der Welt bei Müßiggang erwerben und für die elendsten Zwecke gleichgültig wegschleudern. Behalten wir Leben und Gesundheit und können wir erst unseren trefflichen ältesten Jungen in die geeignete Bahn einführen, dann sehen wir noch bessere Tage. Das aber, lieber Buri, ist meine Hoffnung, mag auch hier mich treffen was da will, denn unter keiner Bedingung möchte ich zurück nach Europa in seinem jetzigen Zustande, trotz aller Eurer vergeblichen Hoffnungen auf gründliche Besserung.

A GERMAN SONG OF 1778

RELATING TO MERCENARIES IN AMERICA

The following crude poem is preserved in a print in the Royal Library at Berlin in a volume belonging to the famous Meusebach collection (Yd 7909: "Lieder. 60 fliegende Blätter aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," No. 55, 4 foll., 8°, date and place not given except as on title-page below). It was to be sung to the tune of Georg Neumark's well-known hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott läszt walten."

„Ein schön neues/Lied/von dem weitentfernten Welttheil/Amerika./Verfertiget/im Monath Junii 1778./von/Joseph Weinhard,/aus Schwabach./Gedruckt auf der Insel Cypern."

[1] Amerika, ich muß bekennen
Du bist ein Glanz der Herrlichkeit.
Die reichste Braut bist du zu nennen,
Wo GOtt den Seegen ausgebreit; —
Dein Reichthum der ist übergroß,
Du sitzest in dem Glückes Schooß.

[2] Die Güter die dir GOtt gegeben,
Sind hohe Schätze dieser Welt,
Damit sollst du in Frieden leben,
Weil du vor andern auserwählt;
Darum vergiß auch niemals nicht
Dankbar zu seyn, sey deine Pflicht.

[3] Langmüthig ist die GOttes Güte,
Und seine Liebe niemals blos;[1]
Denjenigen,[2] der nur sucht Friede,
Bey dem ist seine Gnade gros.

[1] blos: "wanting."

[2] Denjenigen, for Demjenigen.

Der HErr ist unser Schutz und Heil,
Er schenket uns auch sein Erbtheil.

[4] Betrachtet es, ihr Menschen-Kinder,
GOtt setzt euch oft in Freuden-Stand,
Lebt nicht gleich wie die rohen Sünder,
Amerika, betracht dein Land;
Du bist der beste Theil der Welt,
An Gütern, Reichthum, Gut und Geld.

[5] Der HErr des Himmel thut regieren,
Er setzet die Gesalbten ein;
Und warum wollt ihrs Ruder führen,
Dem König nicht gehorsam seyn,
Da er euch allzeit Gutes gönnt,
Und ihr euch freye Staaten nennt.

[6] Fallt vor dem Thron des Höchsten nieder,
Weil vor ihm nichts unmöglich ist,
Und betet: gieb den Frieden wieder
Uns noch in dieser Gnaden-Frist;
Du hast allein die stärkste Macht,
Wohl dem der sein Gesetz betracht.

[7] Denselbigen[3] wirds niemals grauen,
Wann gleich bricht ein die gröste Noth.
Ja, wer den[4] Höchsten wird vertrauen,
Und hält auch gerne sein Gebot;
Der sitzet unter GOttes Schutz,
Und bietet allen Feinden Trutz.

[8] Was nutzt es euch, ihr treuen Brüder,
Vergesset niemals eure Pflicht,
Die Gnad des Königs blüht euch wieder,
Weil ihm durch euch sein Herze bricht.

[3] Denselben, for Demselbigen.

[4] den, for dem.

Ihr macht euch selbst die Schmach und Pein,
Und müßt zuletzt doch dienstbar seyn.

[9] O HErr! erhöre unser Flehen,
Du wirst gewähren unsre Bitt,
Weil wir vor deinem Thron jetzt stehen,
Dann deine Weeg sind eitel Güt.
Erhöre uns in unsrer Noth.
Du bist der Israelis GOtt!

[10] Hast Israel durchs Meer geführet,
Durch deine große Wunder Hand,
Daß sie kein Ungemach berühret,
So seegne den Soldaten Stand,
Gieb ihnen Sieg und Tapferkeit,
Erwünschte Tag', vergnügte Freud.

[11] Endlich wirst du nach Haus sie bringen,
Von jenem weit entfernten Theil;
Alsdann wird dir das Land lobsingen,
Von GOtt kommt Seegen, Glück und Heil;
Der HErr ist Schutz zur Zeit der Noth,
Wohl dem der sich verläßt auf GOtt.

[12] Er ist ein GOtt der nah und ferne,
Der HErr ist GOtt zu Land und Meer,
Gewiß er hilft von Herzen gerne,
Drum gebet GOtt allein die Ehr;
Die von uns sind entfernet aus,
Wird er bald bringen g'sund nach Haus.

Rector Meyer, President of the Historical Society in Schwabach, Bavaria, kindly answered an inquiry regarding Joseph Weinhard, the author of these verses, but could give me no definite information. Assuming however that Weinhard, as a citizen or former resident of Schwabach in the old Margraviate of Ansbach, was interested in the fate of the

soldiers sent from that district to fight for the British in America, I offer a brief historical commentary to the poem.

One of the six German princes who furnished England soldiers for the American colonies was Karl Alexander, the last Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, a member of the Franconian line of the Hohenzollerns. In 1757 he succeeded in Ansbach his despotically cruel father, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm, and in 1769 inherited Bayreuth, which increased the number of his subjects to about 400,000. In 1791 he gave over his lands to the older Hohenzollern line and married his mistress, Lady Craven, with whom he went to England, dying there in 1806.

Karl Alexander had no compunctions about offering two batallions of his subjects to England not long after the American war broke out; selling soldiers was nothing new even in Ansbach, for the Margrave's predecessors had furnished mercenaries to the Empire, to France and to England. Karl Alexander's offer was at first refused but his desire for gold outweighed all considerations and later he resumed negotiations with better success. In March 1777 he was able to send 1285 men (from both Ansbach and Bayreuth) who were followed late in the same year by 318 recruits and, in the four years from 1779 to 1782, by 750 more. Of these 2353 men, 1183 returned in the autumn of 1783. There was accordingly a loss of 1170 men, practically fifty per cnt, to be accounted for by disease, wounds and desertion.[5]

Since these verses are dated 1778 they probably refer to the Ansbach soldiers among the 1603 Ansbach-Bayreuth mercenaries who started for America in 1777. It is quite plain that there was little enthusiasm among the men for the expedition. Karl Alexander himself remarked to the English ambassador, "They are all fine fellows if they were not so disinclined to go to America." He declared that the eighteen or twenty desertions that had occurred in the first weeks after the departure of the troops were few, considering the evident partiality of

[5] Fr. Kapp, Der Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1874, p. 209.

his subjects for the Americans and their bitter antipathy toward England.[6]

The two regiments first sent out mutinied as they were to be transferred to boats at Ochsenfurt on the Main but were quelled by the Margrave, who felt it necessary to accompany them himself to their ships in Holland. Karl Alexander's request that the second levy of 318 men be allowed to cross Prussian territory brought him a sharp rebuke from his uncle, Frederick the Great (letter of Oct. 24, 1777).

Once in America the Ansbach troops fought bravely enough,—at Forts Montgomery and Clinton and (1073 strong) with Cornwallis in 1780-81. They surrendered with Cornwallis to Washington and were kept prisoners in Frederick, Md.,

[6] Kapp, p. 219. Note the contrast in the attitude of Karl Alexander's subjects and that of the unknown author of another poem on the departure of the Ansbach-Bayreuth troops in 1777, reprinted in *Americana-Germanica*, Vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 87 ff. The following stanzas from this source have certainly a strange sound today! (George II had helped drive back the French at Dettingen in 1743).

> ... So ["like Hector's spouse"] fallen Kinder, Gattinnen
> Den Kriegern um den Hals,
> Und Schreyn gequält von Andungen
> Des künftigen Trauerfalls:
>
> „Was gehn uns Englands Colonien
> Was die Rebellen an?
> Was soll in andere Welten ziehn
> Kind, Vater, Ehemann?"
>
> — Schweigt, aufgebrachte Töchter Teuts,
> Besiegt den irrigen Wahn!
> Was wir jetzt thun hat seiner Seits
> Der Britte längst gethan.
>
> Er sah den stolzen Gallier
> Uns Tod und Knechtschaft drohn;

for nearly two years, losing, it is said, scarcely an eighth of their number by desertion.[7]

The author of this poem was evidently a well-meaning man of very limited education. The tone of complete submission to the divine will was given by the hymn he used as a model for his stanza-form. What could be more naïve than his advice to the Colonies to yield, his ignorance of the real causes of the war, the argument of the divine right of kings under such circumstances, the references (in the fifth and eighth stanzas) to George III, and his confidence in the

---

Und großmutsvoll kam Er daher,
  Befreite uns davon.

Auf wilden Wellen nahten sich
  Die Helfer Teutschem Strand;
Und wie ein Gott von Himmel stieg
  Ihr König selbst ans Land!

Georg erschien: Ihm folgete
  Die Waffen in der Hand
Der Stolz der Brittischen Armee
  Sein Sohn, Held Cumberland!

Und alle fochten voller Wuth
  Germania! für dich
Erfochten drauf mit Tod und Blut
  Dir Freiheit und den Sieg.

Ha! solchen Freunden beyzustehn;
  Mit glühendem Gesicht
Auf Ihre Feinde loß zu gehn
  Ist Edler Teutschen Pflicht. . . .

[7] Kapp, p. 219.

failure of the Americans with all their great resources?[8] But Weinhard may have had it in his heart to say many things differently. There is no word of complaint about men being forced into a war for the financial benefit of a corrupt prince. He dared treat matters no differently in print. As it was, the expression, "Printed on the Isle of Cyprus," may have been a means of protecting the printer,—I doubt that a printing-office was called that.

Behind the appeal in the first three-fourths of the poem lies merely the longing to have the German soldiers come home. How bitter must have been the disappointment of friends and relatives that none of the Ansbach soldiers levied in 1777 returned for six years or over, and perhaps barely half of them even then.

CHARLES A. WILLIAMS.

University of Illinois.

[8] [This naïve rhymster may now, after all, lay claim to the gift of prophesy. At a time when a certain class of American citizens seriously believes that the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine depends upon continued British naval supremacy; at a time when the same class of people considers the unlimited sale of ammunition to George V. a patriotic duty comparable only to the noble impulse which prompted petty German princes to sell their subjects to George III. — at such a time the supreme moment seems to have arrived which good Joseph Weinhard foretold in his immortal verses:

Die Gnad des Königs blüht euch wieder

. . . .

Und müßt zuletzt doch dienstbar sein.

J. G.]

Biographien.

Harm. H. Emminga.

Am Donnerstag Abend, den 9. Dezember 1915, starb in seiner Wohnung zu Golden, in Adams County, Illinois, Harm. H. Emminga, einer der Pioniere jener zum größten Teile von Ostfriesen besiedelten Gegend. Geboren am 25. Dezember 1850 zu Wirsens, Ostfriesland, als Sohn von Heinrich R. Emminga, war er gegen Ende des Jahres 1851 mit seinen Eltern nach diesem Lande gekommen. Seine Mutter war Margaretha, geb. Franzen. Die Reise nach New Orleans nahm zwölf Wochen, und ließ sich die Familie Mitte Februar 1852 in der Golden Prairie nieder. Der Vater war Mühlbauer und errichtete die erste Windmühle in der Gegend, welche in 1854 vollendet wurde; auch betrieb er die Müllerei bis 1863, bis er mit seiner Familie nach der alten Heimat zurückkehrte, wo seine Frau in 1868 starb, während er selbst in 1888 aus dem Leben schied. Der Sohn, Harm H. Emminga, war 1872 wieder nach Golden gekommen und hatte sich im selben Jahre mit Frl. Marie Gembler verheiratet, einer Tochter von Johann Jakob Gembler, San Antonio, Texas. Viele Jahre war Harm H. Emminga im Mühlengeschäft tätig und errichtete im Jahre 1889 eine Mahlmühle mit einer Leistungsfähigkeit von 200 Faß Mehl per Tag. Das Produkt seiner Mühle wurde nach Westindien, England, Frankreich, Holland und anderen Ländern gesandt. Im Jahre 1894 eröffnete Harm H. Emminga eine Bank in Golden, die sich als Erfolg erwies.

Harm H. Emminga unternahm im Lauf der Jahre manche Reise in diesem Lande und auch nach Europa. Am 9. März 1910 trat er eine Reise nach Palästina an, die drei Monate in Anspruch nahm. Am 10. Juni heimkehrend, lieferte er eine sehr interessante Beschreibung seiner Erlebnisse im Gelobten Lande, sowie in anderen Ländern in Asien und Afrika. Mehr als hundert Artikel über diese Reise erschienen in verschiedenen Zeitungen dieses Landes wie auch in Deutschland, die für Tausende von Lesern interessant und lehrreich waren.

Harm H. Emminga war auch ein großer Freund von Büchern und erwarb im Laufe der Jahre eine große Sammlung von seltenen und wertvollen Werken.

Der Dahingeschiedene war Mitglied der Lutherischen Kirche, ein Mann von seltener intellektueller Begabung, ein Wohltäter, der einen großen Teil seiner Zeit und seiner Mittel wohltätigen Zwecken widmete, wie er sich denn auch als besonderer Freund und Gönner des von Dr. Schneller in Jerusalem gegründeten Waisenhauses erwies.

Außer der Wittwe hinterläßt der Dahingeschiedene einen Sohn, John J. Emminga, Kassierer der Peoples Bank in Golden, sowie eine Tochter, Frl. Margarethe Emminga.

Von Anbeginn der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois war er Mitglied derselben.

Ehre seinem Andenken!

Heinrich Bornmann.

Quincy, Illinois, im Februar 1916.

Heinrich Schoellkopf.

Mit sanfter Hand rief am 2. Januar 1916 der Tod den alten deutschen Pionier Chicagos, Herrn Heinrich Schöllkopf, im Alter von neunzig Jahren zu sich.

Im April 1826 in Göppingen, am Fuße des Hohenstaufen in Württemberg geboren, und wo er seine Schulbildung genoß und zum Kaufmann erzogen wurde, wanderte er im Alter von etwa zwanzig Jahren nach Amerika aus, hielt sich drei Jahre in Buffalo auf und kam im Jahre 1851 nach Chicago, wo er seitdem ununterbrochen gelebt und tätig gewesen ist. Im selben Jahr eröffnete er an der Nordostecke von Fifth Avenue und Washington Straße ein Materialwarengeschäft, welches er fünfzehn Jahre später nach der Randolph Straße, zwischen Franklin und Market Straße verlegte, und wo es sich noch heute befindet.

Trotz großer Schwierigkeiten und besonders durch zwei Feuersbrünste, die erste im Jahre 1866, und die zweite beim großen Chicagoer Brande, ließ er sich nicht einschüchtern und baute mit großer Energie und emsiger Tätigkeit ein bedeutendes Geschäft auf, welches heute als das älteste in seiner Branche und in seiner Art wohl einzig dasteht.

Fünfundsechzig Jahre lang hat Henry Schöllkopf seinem Geschäfte vorgestanden, war stetig selbst darin tätig, und bis vor einem Jahre konnte man den alten Herrn persönlich dort sehen, wie er mit steter Freundlichkeit die ihn besuchenden Kunden und Freunde empfing.

Henry Schöllkopf hatte einen sanften, ruhigen Tod. Ohne eigentlich krank zu sein, starb er an Altersschwäche.

Der Verstorbene fand sein größtes Glück in seinem Familienleben und der Tod seiner treuen Lebensgefährtin, die ihm vor etwa dreizehn Jahren im Tode voranging, war ein schwerer Schlag für ihn. Wenn auch wenig über sein Privatleben in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangte, so ist es doch bekannt, daß er im Stillen manches Gute stiftete und nie zurückstand, wo es zu helfen galt, doch wollte er nie, daß darüber gesprochen werde.

Henry Schöllkopf war Mitglied des Deutschen Altenheims, des Singvereins, des Deutschen Hospitals und gehörte auch seit ihrer Gründung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois an.

Fünf Kinder überleben den greisen Vater, Henry Schöllkopf, Jr., Edward Schöllkopf, Frau P. J. Gallagher, Frau Ida DeVry in Chicago und Frau Bernard DeVry in Evansville, Ind.

Am 4. Januar wurden die sterblichen Reste des Verstorbenen auf dem Graceland Friedhofe beigesetzt.

Fünfzehnte Jahresversammlung

der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, abgehalten am Mittwoch, den 17. März 1915 um 5 Uhr abends im Zimmer 1615 Mallers Building, 5 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Der Präsident, Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt eröffnete die Versammlung und machte darauf aufmerksam, daß die Jahresversammlung eigentlich am 12. Februar, Lincolns Geburtstag, stattfinden sollte, doch sei auch in diesem Jahre eine Verzögerung nötig geworden, weil die Mehrzahl der Direktoren und Beamten an diesem Tage unmöglich hätte anwesend sein können und sei auf besonderen Wunsch der Herren die Versammlung auf den späteren Tag angesetzt und einberufen worden.

Daraufhin verlas der Sekretär das Protokoll der letzten Jahresversammlung, welches ohne weitere Besprechung einstimmig angenommen wurde.

Ueber die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft im vergangenen Jahre verlas der Sekretär zunächst den Finanz-Bericht wie folgt:

Finanz-Bericht.

Am 1. Januar 1914 befanden sich in der Kassa	$ 587.11
Im Laufe des Jahres zahlten 184 Mitglieder ihre Beiträge in der Höhe von	598.50
worunter sich 4 Herren befanden, welche je $5.00 zahlten, die Herren Halle, Graus, Leicht und Knoop, 3 Herren, welche je $10.00 der Kassa beisteuerten, Herr Leo Ernst und Dr. Wiener und Herr Kalb, welcher als lebenslängliches Mitglied sich verpflichtet hat, einen Jahresbeitrag von $10.00 zu leisten.	
Verkauft wurden an Herrn J. H. A. Lacher, Waukegan, ein Set	24.00
an die University of Oregon, ein Set	32.50
an die Yale University, extra Bücher	4.50
an die Warburg Publ. Co., ein Buch	2.25
an die Spokane Public Library, ein Buch	2.25
an Lemke & Buechner, New York, ein Buch	2.25
an den Methodist Book Concern in Toronto, ein Buch	2.25
an Herrn Bodemann, eine Anzahl Pamphlete	2.00
an Herrn A. H. Griffith, Manitowoc, ein Lincoln Pamphlet	0.75
an Herrn E. Witter in St. Louis, Pamphlete	1.00

9 neue Mitglieder wurden erworben, nämlich die Herren: Richter Alfred K. Nippert in Cincinnati, A. C. E. Schmidt, Chicago, Max Schuchart, Chicago, C. Benninghofen, Hamilton, O., University of Oregon Eugene, Ore., Jacob

M. Loeb, Chicago, Rob. J. Scheunemann, Chicago, Society of Americans of German Ancestry, Waukegan, Orville Schultz, Amana, Iowa, welche zusammen der Kasse zuführten 27.00
Außerdem überwies ein Mitglied der Klasse................ 152.00

Was zusammen eine Gesamteinnahme bedeutet von..........$1437.86
Die Ausgaben setzten sich wie folgt zusammen:
Druckkosten bei C. M. Staiger....................$ 97.50
und 9.00
wobei zu bemerken ist, daß Herr Staiger 4000 Inhaltsverzeichnisse der bisher erschienenen Jahrbücher in deutscher und englischer Sprache druckte, sowie 4000 Begleitschreiben und 4000 besondere Briefumschläge.
Die Unkosten für das Jahrbuch betrugen.......... 736.50
und wurde für Briefumschläge auch noch....... 4.00
an die Fred Klein Printing Co. bezahlt.
Für Expreß und Portokosten für den Versandt des Jahrbuches wurden ausgegeben........... 68.65
woraus hervorgeht, daß die Gesamtunkosten für das Jahrbuch $809.15 betrugen.
Außerdem wurden an Porto und Expreßgebühren ausgegeben 53.00
Für einen Gummistempel wurde ausgelegt........ 0.35
Für Exchange auf Schecks........................ 0.20
An G. Herzberg & Co., für das Einbinden von Büchern, welche an die Bücherausstellung nach Leipzig gesandt wurden.................... 21.00
Herr Heinr. Bornmann erhielt als Commission für das Kollektieren von Mitgliedsbeiträgen von Mitgliedern in Quincy, Ill.................. 15.75
Für ein besonderes Buch der Jewish Historical Society in New York wurde ausgezahlt............... 3.00
Und zurückgezahlt an Baker & Taylor für ein umgetauschtes Buch............................ 2.25

Was eine Gesamtausgabe ergibt von...............$1011.20
und dementsprechend am 1. Januar 1915 einen Ueberschuß in der Kassa ließ von................................ 426.66
Seit dem 1. Januar sind noch eingegangen von 20 Mitgliedern 72.00

Sodaß sich zur Zeit in der Kassa der Gesellschaft befinden.....$ 498.66

Die Portokosten im vergangenen Jahr belaufen sich ziemlich hoch, weil eben eine Anzahl Zirkularbriefe an Universitäten und Bibliotheken

gesandt wurden, um diese als Mitglieder zu gewinnen. Leider war der Erfolg, wie aus vorstehendem Bericht hervorgeht, kein zu günstiger.

Das Jahrbuch 1914 ist in den Händen des Druckers und wird in den nächsten Tagen fertig werden. Es ist ein Buch, welches etwa 1000 Seiten enthalten wird.

Beiträge dazu haben geliefert: Herr H. A. Rattermann aus Cincinnati, der Nestor deutscher Geschichtsforscher, welcher nun erblindet ist und wohl schwerlich einen weiteren Beitrag liefern kann. Sein Artikel über die Geschichte der deutschen Kultur und Literatur in Amerika wird über 250 Seiten groß sein und eine Fundgrube für zukünftige Geschichtsforscher bieten.

Herr Professor Herriott hat eine Fortsetzung oder vielmehr einen Anschluß an seinem im vorigen Jahrbuch erschienenen Artikel über die politische Tätigkeit der Deutschen in Iowa geliefert, welcher höchst interessant ist und an Umfang (die Gediegenheit des Artikels ist ja außer Zweifel) mit etwa 225 Seiten an zweiter Reihe kommt.

Herr Professor Goebel hat die Briefe Follens verarbeiten lassen. Die Abschriften dieser Briefe wurden uns durch Prof. Haupt in Gießen besorgt. Zum größten Bedauern ist hier zu berichten, daß ein Blatt des Manuskripts auf unerklärliche Weise verloren gegangen ist und muß diese Seite eben nachgebracht werden, sobald eine Abschrift von Deutschland aus zu erlangen ist.

Einen sehr interessanten Artikel, die Geschichte der deutschen Juden in den Ver. Staaten, hat uns Herr Herman Eliassof, Redakteur einer jüdischen Wochenschrift und früherer Mitarbeiter des Herrn Dr. Hirsch, geliefert.

Einen weiterhin interessanten Artikel hat Herr Lohr von der New Yorker Staatszeitung geliefert und Frl. Knoche von der Universität in Urbana einen Artikel über den Einfluß von Richard Wagner auf Amerika.

Die Zusammensetzung des Buches ist eine solche, daß dasselbe wiederum der Gesellschaft und der Schriftleitung zur größten Ehre gereichen wird.

Ueber den Vertrieb der Bücher sollten wohl bestimmte Vereinbarungen getroffen werden. Der Versuch, die Bücher durch Zirkularbriefe und Korrespondenzen zu verkaufen, hat nur dazu geführt, daß einige wenige neue Freunde erworben wurden, daß aber die Korrespondenz mit Gesuchen überhäuft war, den Antragstellern unsere Bücher frei zu liefern oder im Umtausch mit anderen Publikationen, woran natürlich nicht zu denken ist.

Es sollte deshalb die Aufgabe der Gesellschaft sein, um dieselbe womöglich unabhängig zu machen, einen Ausweg für den Absatz der Bücher zu finden, wie ebenfalls eine besondere Agitation zu veranstalten, um neue Mitglieder zu gewinnen.

Wie man aus einer Uebersicht des vorstehenden Finanzberichtes ersieht, sind in diesem Jahre etwa $300.00 weniger eingegangen, wie im

vorigen Jahre, wobei wohl zu berücksichtigen ist, daß von den 46 Abonnenten in Deutschland dieses Jahr keine Beiträge gezahlt wurden, weil wir es nicht für angebracht hielten, Rechnungen dorthin zu senden, doch geht auch daraus hervor, daß etwa 50 bis 75 hiesige Mitglieder ihren Pflichten nicht nachgekommen sind und die Gesellschaft mit dem wirklich geringen Beitrag von $3.00 pro Jahr unterstützt haben.

Zum Schlusse sei der Mitglieder gedacht, die uns im vergangenen Jahre durch den Tod entrissen wurden, nämlich die Herren G. F. Klenze, Jacob Spohn, C. A. Spoehr, Simon S. Blum, Chicago, Rev. F. W. Scholz, Secor, Jll., Edward Deuß, Chicago, Dr. Carl Matthey, Davenport, Jowa, deren Gedächtnis durch einen entsprechenden Nachruf im kommenden Jahrbuch gewürdigt wurde.

Der Bericht wurde auf Antrag des Herrn Mannhardt einstimmig entgegengenommen, und auf Antrag des Herrn Präsidenten erhoben sich die Anwesenden, um den Manen der verstorbenen Mitglieder ihre Verehrung auszudrücken.

Es wurde darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß Schritte und Wege gefunden werden sollten, neue Mitglieder zu erwerben, und wurde die Hoffnung ausgesprochen, daß der Inhalt und die Ausstattung des zu erwartenden Jahrbuches wohl dazu beitragen werde, neue Freunde zu gewinnen, was wohl eher zu erwarten sei, weil infolge des Krieges in Europa und die hier im Lande herrschende Stimmung das Deutschtum sich enger an einander schließen und sich unter dem Deutschtum ein festeres Streben für die deutsche Kulturarbeit in diesem Lande entwickeln werde.

Im Anschluß an diese Bemerkungen fand der Vorsitzende es angebracht, daß man infolge der bestehenden Verhältnisse den in Deutschland wohnenden Mitgliedern und Abonnenten das Jahrbuch frei liefern sollte.

Herr von Wackerbarth stellte daraufhin einen entsprechenden Antrag, welcher unterstützt und angenommen wurde.

Herr Dr. Schmidt machte dann darauf aufmerksam, daß die Gesellschaft eine besonders gebundene Ausgabe unserer Werke auf die Ausstellung für Bücherei und Graphik in Leipzig entsandt habe und daß nach Schluß der Ausstellung diese Bücher irgend einer deutschen Bibliothek überwiesen werden sollten.

Herr von Wackerbarth verlas daraufhin einen Brief, welchen er von Professor Paul Förster in Berlin erhalten habe und welcher auf die in Deutschland herrschende Stimmung während des Krieges hinwies.

Herr Dr. Schmidt kam dann auf den Vertrieb unserer Bücher zu sprechen und wies darauf hin, daß es der Gesellschaft bedeutende Kosten bereiten würde, einen ausgiebigen Absatz zu finden und wäre es deshalb wohl angebracht, wenn man den Versuch mache, eine Verlagsanstalt zu finden, die den Vertrieb übernehmen würde. Die Chicago Historical Society habe in dieser Beziehung einen verhältnißmäßig guten Erfolg

mit der Univer..ty of Chicago Preß erzielt und wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß diese Gesellschaft auch den Vertrieb für unsere Werke übernehmen würde.

Nach einer Besprechung dieser Sache stellte Herr Mannhardt den Antrag, daß ein Komite ernannt werde, welches diese Sache in die Hand nehmen solle und sollte diesem Komitee vollständig freie Hand gegeben werden.

Der Antrag wurde von Herrn Kalb unterstützt und angenommen.

Herr Huttmann stellte dann den weiteren Antrag, daß dieses Komitee aus dem Präsidenten und den Herrn Mannhardt und Kalb bestehen sollte.

Der Antrag wurde unterstützt und angenommen.

Der nächste Punkt der Tagesordnung war die Wahl von fünf Mitgliedern des Verwaltungsrates an Stelle der ausscheidenden Herrn F. J. Dewes, E. W. Kalb, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, H. W. Huttmann und Rudolf Seifert.

Herr Mannhardt stellt den Antrag, daß die Herren einstimmig wiedererwählt würden.

Der Antrag wurde von Herrn Mees unterstützt und angenommen, worauf der Vorsitzende die Herren als Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrates für die zwei folgenden Jahre erwählt erklärte.

In Bezug auf die Wahl der Beamten für das laufende Geschäftsjahr stellte Herr Huttmann den Antrag, daß die bisherigen Beamten wiedererwählt würden.

Herr Seifert unterstützte den Antrag, welcher einstimmig angenommen wurde, und wurde der Sekretär beauftragt, die Stimme der Gesellschaft für die Wahl der Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrates und der Beamten abzugeben, was in ordnungsmäßiger Weise geschah.

Nach einer allgemeinen weiteren Besprechung über Mittel und Wege zum Besten der Förderung der Mitgliederschaft und der Verbreitung der Arbeiten der Gesellschaft, an welcher sich die Herren Holinger, Huttmann, Mannhardt, Kalb, Mees, Lacher, Seifert, von Wackerbarth und Frl. Heuermann beteiligten, wurde der Antrag auf Vertagung angenommen.

Ergebenst unterbreitet

Max Baum, Schriftführer.

Beamten der Gesellschaft.

Verwaltungsrat:

1 Jahr:

Heinr. Bornmann, Quincy
Dr. E. P. Raab, Belleville
H. von Wackerbarth
Ph. H. Dilg
Fritz Mees

2 Jahre::

F. J. Dewes
E. W. Kalb
Dr. O. L. Schmidt
H. W. Huttmann
Rudolf Seifert

Beamte:

Dr. O. L. Schmidt .... Präsident
F. J. Dewes .... 1. Vize-Präsident
H. v. Wackerbarth .... 2. Vize-Präsident
A. Holinger .... Schatzmeister
Ph. H. Dilg .... Finanz-Sekretär
H. W. Huttmann .... Vorsitzer des Finanz-Ausschusses
Max Baum .... Sekretär

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Professor F. J. Herriott, Des Moines, Iowa.
H. A. Rattermann, Cincinnati, O.
Professor Hermann Oncken, Heidelberg.

Lebenslängliche Mitglieder:

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Boldenweck, Wm.
Brand, Virgil
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Eberhard, Dr. Waldemar
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Günther, Dr. O.
Grommes, J. B.
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Koop, Julius
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Löhr, Justus
Madlener, A. F.
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